HOMELESS BOYS:

MALE DEVELOPMENT AND IMPERIAL EXPANSION IN VICTORIAN FICTION

A Dissertation

by

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this dissertation is to examine the ways in which traveling boys in Victorian fiction embody and complicate cultural ideas concerning the formation of masculinity and the imperial expansion. Both literary critics and historians of Victorian Britain have investigated how the discourse over the construct of masculinity intersects with the values of the domestic, seeking to challenge traditional thinking around the dichotomy of masculinity/femininity and public/domestic spheres. Extending upon recent studies of male domesticity, this dissertation focuses not on adult men who are defined in terms of the domestic but on boys who have no secure place within home/home country. I define boyhood as a state in which one is settled nowhere but is expected to demonstrate maturity by finding one's own home; it includes not only boys in the biological sense but also the marginalized boy-men with no rightful position in the domestic sphere and/or in the home country. Nineteenth-century British fictions often confirm the myth of male self-development through portraying boy characters' leaving and returning to home and home country. To reintegrate into those spaces, they must demonstrate their acquisition of manliness. By reading their rite of passage in terms of homelessness and at-homeness, I contend that the figure of the traveling boy helps to illuminate unresolved contradictions lurking within the Victorian idea of home building, whether the word "home" addresses the domestic space that is in opposition to the public sphere or the center of the empire that is in opposition to the foreign.

One of my central arguments is that by associating boyhood with its national character, Victorian Britain celebrates its continuing advancement to the margins, as well as imagining its subjects being stably anchored at its center even while being away from it. Identifying themselves as displaced from the domestic space, boys seek a sense of at-homeness during journeys, and their homelessness is expected to contribute both to the establishment of a new household and to the expansion of the empire. While the dominant discourse of Victorian Britain asserts that male subjects contribute to the expansion of the home through leaving and returning to it, fictions illuminate that they come to lose their home irrecoverably instead of feeling at home anywhere. Boy characters' relationship with their home and their home country change while traveling, thereby changing nationhood as well. Although they attempt to transform certain places into their homes, such spaces cannot be the same as the home that they have left behind, and the idea of home itself becomes complicated.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Victorian Domesticity and Gender

This dissertation explores the ways in which the figure of the homeless boy embodies and complicates the Victorian discourse over the formation of masculinity and empire building. It is noteworthy that both adult and juvenile fictions of the nineteenth century frequently present male characters who travel outside their home and/or home country. Traveling boys and men are portrayed in various ways, appearing as orphans, public school students, colonialists, adventurers, and immigrants. Oliver Twist, Charles Dickens's famous orphan character, travels to London and navigates the urban criminal world until he reaches his final destination, a middle-class household. Pip, another orphaned Dickens character, leaves his hometown and occupies a lodging in London as a bachelor, until Magwitch returns from Australia to England and reunites with him. Public school narratives present schoolboys leaving their childhood homes and struggling to feel at home in an all-male environment. In *Jane Eyre* (1847), male characters such as Edward Rochester and St. John Rivers travel overseas, whether for trade or missionary purposes, while Jane Eyre remains in England and Bertha is confined to the domestic space as soon as she arrives in England. Marlow and Kurtz, the two main characters of Joseph Conrad's fin-de-siècle novella *Heart of Darkness* (1899), meet in the heart of Africa while both traveling far away from their home countries. Although some writers−especially female writers−portray traveling girls and women, it

is middle-class boys and unmarried men who are most frequently and systematically sent out of the home and home country, sometimes suffering from a sense of displacement and sometimes seeking to find a new home. Why do so many nineteenth-century British writers like to describe their male protagonists as homeless? How does the ideology concerning nation building relate to the issue of men's place at home?

Importantly, the very meaning of "returning" becomes complicated in nineteenth-century British fictions with the journey motif. Some of the traveling male characters return, while others do not. For instance, in *Heart of Darkness* Marlow returns from Congo to England, unlike Kurtz who dies outside the national border. Yet the question of whether Marlow truly returns home is hard to answer; since what he experiences during his journey affects him so much, he may not feel "at home" any longer in the empire though he physically returns to his point of departure at the end of the story. Similarly, some characters who seemingly get reconnected to a domestic circle as a father and husband after growing up may remain emotionally homeless, cherishing the memory of the childhood home as the symbol of an irrecoverable past. As will be demonstrated in this dissertation, the problem of leaving and returning home complicates the definition of masculinity, as well as illuminating contradictions in the discourse over the expansion of the British Empire.

Although this dissertation focuses mainly on texts that are set in sites conducive to male companionship, I attempt to expand the current interest in the intersection between the construction of masculinity and domestic ideology. Since the 1980s, nineteenth-century studies have challenged the traditional notion of separate spheres,

which is most famously articulated in *Sesame and Lilies* (1865), the published version of the text of two lectures that John Ruskin delivered at Manchester in 1864. [1] In this book Ruskin comments on the ways in which men and women function in their separate spheres. While we cannot consider Ruskin as representing all male writers' views on gender, "Of Queen's Gardens," one of the two lectures, tells us something about nineteenth-century discourses of women's role in the home. Ruskin associates the ideal of womanhood with the image of an idealized domestic space that is free "not only from all injury, but from all terror, doubt, and division" (77) of the outside world. Adopting the metaphor of a garden, Ruskin portrays an ideal woman occupying the center of the home as well as extending influences over its boundary:

> And wherever a true wife comes, this home is always round her. The stars only may be over her head; the glowworm in the night-cold grass may be the only fire at her foot; but home is yet wherever she is; and for a noble woman it stretches far round her, better than ceiled with cedar, or painted with vermilion, shedding its quiet light far, for those who else were homeless. (78)

While the pursuit of masculinity, which Ruskin represents as "kingly power," makes boys and men leave the home and home country, at the same time they must stay connected to the home if they are not to become uprooted and displaced. Envisioning the ideal woman who creates a home space round her, Ruskin places the home not only in opposition to the public sphere but also in opposition to the world outside national

[1] In 1871 the lectures were revised and published with a third essay, "The Mystery of Life and Its Arts."

borders. This invokes a framing that places both men and women in opposition to the foreign world. Even though men and women rule separate spheres, an ideal woman comes to contribute to the imperial enterprise through embodying the domestic ideology that is used to justify the domestication of the foreign and through marking the home space as a stable center of the extending nation with immobility and purity. Ruskin's remark that both "queenly power" and "kingly power" must serve the same "mission" (70) also corresponds to this vision.

Postcolonialist scholars such as Amy Kaplan and Anne McClintock have noted that the concept "domestic" is associated with both the border of the nation and that of the home. There is a consensus among them that the double meaning of domestic is crucial for understanding imperial discourse. In her insightful work on the cult of domesticity, "Manifest Domesticity" (1998), Kaplan investigates the contradictions in the nineteenth-century domestic ideology by defining the concept "domestic" in terms of both home and nation. Noting that the earliest meaning of the word "foreign" is "at a distance from home," Kaplan claims that the nation was imagined as a bounded space that needs an alien world for its definition (581-582). As Kaplan notes, Catharine Beecher imagines home extending its moral influence over national borders and helping to domesticate savages outside the nation: "The paradox of what might be called 'imperial domesticity' is that by withdrawing from direct agency in the male arena of commerce and politics, woman's sphere can be represented by both women and men as a more potent agent for national expansion. The outward reach of domesticity in turn

enables the interior functioning of the home" (586).[2] As Kaplan suggests, the American imagination of the home leads to a paradox; while the notion of imperial domesticity helps to justify the expansion of the empire, it also provokes anxiety about bringing foreignness inside the national boundaries and thereby corrupting the home. On the one hand, the nation as home must be imagined as a stable center, but at the same time, it must be "mobile to travel to the nation's far-flung frontiers" (Kaplan 591), and its continuing expansion causes its boundaries to be permeable.

Although Kaplan's study focuses on the ideology of the American empire presented in the works of Beecher and Sarah Josepha Hale, her way of thinking can be used to critique the discourse of the British Empire as well. Claiming that women can extend their influence over the home boundary, Ruskin remarks that "the path of a good woman is indeed strewn with flowers; but they rise *behind* her steps, not before them" (my italics 91), which echoes in Beecher's vision of an ideal woman who is both static and mobile. That flowers "rise behind her steps" highlights that he expects British subjects to conquer the outside world by transforming it into the woman's sphere—the home. Considering that Victorian Britain's discourse over nation building is based on the same conception of domesticity, it can be said that it contains the same contradictions as its American counterpart.[3]

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[2] Similarly, in *Imperial Leather* (1995), McClintock contends that the cult of domesticity was central to the construct of male imperial identity during the period of the empire. According to McClintock, the Victorian cult of domesticity helped to confirm and justify racial hierarchy. Associating the ideal of manhood with the image of the traveler who "domesticates" foreignness, it promoted a racial destiny for British youth to follow (35).

[3] As John O. Jordan notes, the concept of the "threshold" is particularly important for Ruskin's definition of home:

Taking the double meaning of "domestic" as its departure, this study aims to contribute to the investigation of the ways in which the idealization of the home goes together with the ideology of nation building. Noticeably, the stream of criticism that critiques the nineteenth-century notion of separate spheres has been focused on the relationship between domesticity and femininity. In *The Madwoman in the Attic* (1979), their classic work on nineteenth-century female writers, Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar trace how women's imprisonment in the home made madness and monstrosity be tropes in literature and how women were considered a threat to male-dominated society. In inheriting this line of thinking, feminist scholars have drawn attention to the intersection between female subjectivity and domesticity in Victorian society and literature. In *Woman and the Demon* (1982) Nina Auerbach asserts that while the Angel in the House is confined to the domestic sphere and to the values of home, some angelic characters in Victorian literature are endowed with subversive power. To Nancy Armstrong in *Desire and Domestic Fiction* (1987), the virtues of the ideal wife depended on her ability to perform domestic duty during the mid-Victorian period; noting that eighteenth-century

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> Although in typical Victorian fashion Ruskin celebrates the hearth as the focus of domestic virtue, in fact a more important architectural feature of his mythic home is its threshold. It is the threshold that carries the weight of Ruskin's powerful exclusionary logic−dividing the world into a series of binary oppositions between outside and inside, male and female, secular and sacred, kings' treasuries and queens' gardens. Both a barrier and a point of access, the threshold in effect defines the home by what it keeps out; yet at the same time, as the point of contact and transition between the separate spheres, it allows and perhaps even invites transgression. (80)

As the American idea of imperial domesticity creates a paradox, Ruskin's use of the image of the threshold betrays conflicting ideas regarding the relations between domestic and foreign; while the idealization of the domestic justifies the domestication of the outside world, the vision of advancing to the farthest parts of the world inevitably leads to intrusion from the outside.

conduct books associated the ideal of womanhood with the domestic economy, she goes as far as to contend that middle-class identity was produced based on feminine discourse. Mary Poovey's *Uneven Developments* (1988) further develops the examination of female subjectivity within the constraints of home, exploring the ways in which the representations of marginal women such as governesses unsettle the border between classes and gender norms; while a governess occupies a position in a domestic circle, her presence as a working woman troubles cultural ideologies concerning middle-class family home.[4] Similarly, in *Boys Will Be Girls* (1991) Claudia Nelson argues that the idealization of womanhood not only suppressed Victorian women but also gave them agency and enabled them to function as role models for children, as well as helping to critique a society that increasingly valued selfishness and competition.

If the gendered notion of "separate spheres" not only confined Victorian women but also empowered them, as a number of scholars have noted, it may also have affected their male counterparts in complex ways. This dissertation focuses on the relationship between masculinity and domesticity presented in Victorian fictions, which has received less critical attention than the feminist approach. I am greatly indebted to John Tosh, who articulates the concept of male domesticity in *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the*

[4] In a similar way, in "Housekeeping and Hegemony in *Bleak House*" (1991) Martin A. Danahay reads Dickens's *Bleak House* (1853) in terms of domestic labor and female subjectivity. Danahay notes that Esther Summerson, one of the main characters of the novel, has responsibility for organizing households and servants. Her character indicates that women's work as housekeeper was not considered as work in the Victorian period (417). On the one hand, Dickens emphasizes her roles as housekeeper to differentiate her middle-class virtues from aristocratic leisure, but on the other hand, he cannot depict her as a working woman because that goes against the definition of respectability. Focusing on Esther's character, Danahay highlights contradictions within the Victorian discourse on work and gender. In this sense, it can be said that his work is in concert with other feminist works, especially Poovey's.

Middle-Class Home in Victorian England (1999), even though I disagree with his claim that a typical middle-class man recovered a place in home after growing up. While Tosh is in essential agreement with McClintock and with feminist scholars in challenging the notion that Victorian Britain consisted of two gendered spheres, he differentiates himself by focusing on the relationship between masculinity and domesticity. Claiming that "[t]he home became the privileged site of subjectivity and fantasy" (4) in the nineteenth century, Tosh acknowledges that home was primarily associated with childhood and femininity and that the motif of the journey represented the passage to male maturity at the Victorian period. Since "for the Victorians the key attribute of manliness" was "independence" (111), a boy was supposed to leave the home, which was defined as the feminine sphere, to claim his legitimate position in the male world. Simultaneously, however, Tosh places the home at the center of the process of male development, arguing that men's desire to engage with domesticity played a key role in the transition between boyhood and manhood:

> The journey to manhood began in domestic dependence and ended in domestic authority. In *between these two versions of domesticity*, a young man needed to demonstrate himself, his father and his peers that he could live without the comforts of home and the ministrations of its female inmates, so that when he came to form a household of his own he would do so on the right terms. He must set about securing the material means without which a socially reputable marriage was impossible. And he needed to acquire—and demonstrate—the essential manly qualities of energy, resolution

and independence, which would secure his masculine reputation. (my italics 122)

Not only did the Victorian home function as a haven from business and public life, but boys' desire to build their own home also motivated them to acquire manliness. That is, for them the home is both the point of departure and the final destination, and they grow up while struggling to return home. Arguing that the end of the journey to manhood indicates the beginning of the second version of domesticity, Tosh concludes that nineteenth-century middle-class men recovered their relations with the domestic environment as husbands, fathers, and heads of household.

Building upon Tosh's work, recent scholarship on nineteenth-century British history and cultural ideology has extended the discussion of male domesticity in many directions. Deborah Cohen expands Tosh's work by focusing on the ways in which middle-class men engaged with the decoration of domestic interiors. In *Household Gods: The British and Their Possessions* (2006), Cohen argues that middle-class Victorian men were deeply involved with furnishing and decorating their houses, drawing on the startling fact that Coventry Patmore, who defined home as woman's sphere in *The Angel in the House*, was obsessed with managing and controlling home decoration in his own house (94). Meanwhile, some historians have turned their attention to working-class fatherhood, thereby departing from the stream of scholarship that focuses on the middle classes. For example, Julie-Marie Strange and Megan Doolittle both pay special attention to the ways in which domestic objects such as tea-tables and armchairs indicated men's position at home. Noting that fathers returned from work to

home to drink tea and then occupied their armchairs, Strange claims that "teatime was an organised ritual that located fathers at the heart of family dynamics in a particular way" (86).[5] Similarly, in "Time, Space, and Memories: The Father's Chair and Grandfather's Clocks in Victorian Working-class Domestic Lives" (2011), Doolittle investigates the ways in which the acquisition and utilization of domestic objects reflected family practices of the Victorian working classes. Doolittle argues that a father's chair signaled the particular position that he occupied in the family as well as the gendered roles in the house:

> There are four dominant themes that are intertwined in these accounts of chairs in domestic life. First, the gendered ways in which chairs were used in the home; second, the privileges and authority associated with fatherhood, indicated through homecoming and evening rituals involving the father's chair; third, the memories and longings for cohesion and togetherness traced over time and across generations; and fourth, the absences that resonate in the image of the empty chair. (252)

Doolittle remarks that the father's large and comfortable chair and its privileged position−near the hearth−signaled leisure and rest in the home while the mother's chair, which was smaller and harder, signaled that she continued domestic labor. Also, through the repeated act of leaving and returning to the house, he became an object to miss and remember among other family members (253-256). [6]

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[5] See Julie-Marie Strange, *Fatherhood and the British Working Class, 1865-1914* (2015).

[6] Some scholars have paid attention to marginal subjects who inhabit thresholds of domestic sphere. Katherine Snyder's *Bachelors, Manhood, and the Novel, 1850-1925* (1999) reads bachelor narrators as liminal figures outside conventional family home. Additionally, in "More Sinful Pleasures? Leisure,

If historical studies of Victorian men's domestic life have been useful in illuminating male domesticity, they do not fully capture the anxiety that is caused for men by their ambivalent position at home. For example, Strange's and Doolittle's studies of domestic objects can demonstrate what physical/hierarchical position working-class fathers took in the house and how family members perceived them as both authoritative/privileged figures and objects of longing. However, their work does not explain complex psychological aspects such as how and why the fathers felt displaced even while occupying their chairs by the hearth and how and why they could feel connected while being away from the home and even from the home country. As Tosh acknowledges, for Victorians domesticity "denotes not just a pattern of residence or a web of obligations, but a profound attachment: a state of mind as well as a physical orientation" (4). To understand the profound state of mind concerning men's relations to home, we need to explore both fictional male characters' sense of at-homeness/homelessness and the cultural imagination of specific spaces both inside and outside the nation.

My study challenges both the traditional notion of separate spheres and the mainstream scholarship on female and male domesticity. In a sense, it is placed at the opposite of the studies on the construction of female subjectivity within home, in that it

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Respectability and the Male Middle Classes in Victorian England" (2000) Mike J. Huggins focuses on middle-class men's leisure, arguing that the area of male leisure was "a zone where social distinctions were vulnerable, an area where some forms of association were cross-class, challenging conventional social distinctions" (588). Huggins adds that there was a mid-Victorian concern over the young bachelors being away from home and enjoying leisure outside the values of home (589-90). See also Martin A. Danahay, *Gender at Work in Victorian Culture: Literature, Art and Masculinity* (2005), which discusses men's anxiety about being feminized through their involvement with leisure.

focuses on male displacement from home. This dissertation can be placed in dialogue with Catherine Robson's *Men in Wonderland: The Lost Girlhood of the Victorian Gentleman* (2001), which explores men's position in the home through the representation of little girls. According to Robson, in Victorian Britain it was culturally assumed that boys reach manhood "only after an initial feminine stage" (3). Because childhood was a "feminized world" (4) at that time, it was believed that boys could become masculine only by separating themselves from the influence of home and females, which led to the imagining that for boys there is an "absolute line of division between childhood and adulthood" (8). That male adventurers/imperialists who went abroad were seen as contributing to the glory of the nation also suggests that the formation of masculinity required separation from the domestic circle and that boys were supposed to endure early separation from the home to become men. Simultaneously, however, Robson notes that men's desire to get reconnected to their childhood caused them to pursue the ideal of the perfect home. According to Robson, nineteenth-century British male authors not only imagined the house as the lost paradise, but they also projected their own fantasy of it onto the figure of the innocent girl. Her analysis of W. P. Frith's painting *Many Happy Returns of the Day* (1854) makes an interesting contrast with the work of Strange and Doolittle noted above. As Robson points out, this painting portrays a middle-class family celebrating a daughter's birthday; we can see a domestic interior and family members eating, drinking, and talking around a table. Noting that the grandfather, who is sitting on a separate chair on the corner, "takes his gaze to a place that has no apparent location in the picture before us," Robson asserts that he is contemplating "his own long-lost

past" (47). While the daughter embodies the domestic comfort of a middle-class home, through which both the father and the grandfather demonstrate their masculinity, one of the two men is detached from the present scene, and the other−the father−is turning his gaze not to the birthday table but to the older man (47). Through this reading of the painting, Robson suggests that the figure of the idealized girl who is protected in the home signals the adult men's irrecoverable loss of their childhood and their home.

Significantly, Tosh deals with the same painting in his book, published earlier than Robson's. Like Robson, he notes that the father seems detached in the picture, but unlike her, he uses it as evidence for the ambivalence of fatherhood. As Victorian middle-class manhood greatly depended on fatherhood, men sought to perform fathers' role successfully, but sometimes they feared that they might lose masculinity if they got too much involved with "feminine softness and sensitivity" as a parent (Tosh 97). Tosh concludes that this dilemma of fatherhood brings about the emergence of the "semi-detached" (97) father as illustrated in Frith's painting. While this is where Tosh acknowledges uncertainty about men's position at home, he does not raise the possibility that the man who is occupying the household that he established−or, borrowing his term, who is placed in the second version of domesticity−might suffer from homesickness for the home that he has lost before. In reading the male figure(s) in the same painting, Robson does not directly refer to Tosh's argument that adult men could reconnect to domesticity through acquiring domestic authority, but in a sense she is challenging it by focusing on the man's sense of loss and his child self.

I share many thoughts with Robson, but unlike her, I propose to investigate the issues of male displacement not through men's idealization of little girls but through boy characters' state of homelessness in literature. Although my study is similar to recent studies of gender, domesticity, and nationhood in many ways, it differs from them in that it focuses not on adult men who are defined as domestic but on boys and boyish men who have no secure position within home and/or home country. Defining boyhood as a state in which one is settled nowhere but is aspiring to find one's rightful place, I include in it not only boys in the biological sense but also men who identify themselves as displaced and uprooted, such as public school graduates who call themselves "Old Boys" and pirates who are outside authentic British middle-class masculinity. Agreeing that domesticity played a crucial role in nineteenth-century discourses of masculinity, I seek to argue that boys' desire to reconnect to the domestic environment could not be fulfilled even after they reached manhood. Through investigating their quest for home, I will demonstrate that the pursuit of male development could not be in congruence with the recovery of domesticity in the Victorian period.

The Boys' Self-Advancement and Nation Building

To understand how the idea of male development is related to the conception of the domestic, it is crucial to explore the parallel between the transition from boyhood to manhood and the expansion of the empire. As Tosh notes, boys' position at home was ambivalent and insecure; while girls were raised to become wives and mothers, boys were trained to acquire independence, but at the same time, they needed maternal care

like girls (4). In other words, they were both inside and outside of the home even before physically leaving it. As I will discuss later, the boys' liminal position highlights the nineteenth-century dynamics of British male subjects' relationship with the nation; like the son who is both an insider and an outsider, they are expected to feel "at home" while traveling far away from their home and home country, but they cannot become true insiders after returning.

In addition to the motif of the journey, that of growing up is important for my study, since the two motifs are interrelated in the texts that will be discussed in this dissertation. As Franco Moretti points out in his classic study of the Bildungsroman, *The Way of the World: The Bildungsroman in European Culture* (1987), the journey is presented as "the most common narrative metaphor for youth" (203) in British stories about growing up. In the days of the building of the British Empire, boys' journeying from home, whether to attend school or to travel to foreign climes for leisure, educational, or career purposes, was considered a way of cultivating masculinity. One of my central claims is that the figure of the homeless boy represents Victorian Britain's national character.[7] As Jenny Holt claims in *Public School Literature, Civic Education and the Politics of Male Adolescence* (2008), nineteenth-century British society conceived of boyhood as an important concept for imperial discourse. Because

[7]In "Staging the Ruins: David Roberts's Paintings of the Holy Land and Charles Dickens' London Theatre of Homelessness" (1998), Murray Baumgarten examines Victorians' sense of homelessness through their concern with the "ruins." According to Baumgarten, many nineteenth-century writers and artists including Dickens and David Roberts−Scottish painter who produced sketches during journeys to Egypt and Middle East−were concerned how industrialization and urbanization caused the loss of home and of past civilization (151). While sharing with him the interest in nineteenth-century idea of homelessness, I focus not on the homelessness of those who witnessed the transformation of home, but on that of those who had their relationship with their homes changed by physically leaving them.

adolescence is both a "prelude to mature citizenship" (235) and a period that is essentially associated with rebelliousness, authors of public school narratives experiment with diverse models of citizenship by portraying boys' going through testing experiences in the school space. Through the schoolboy characters who grow up during their physical/psychological journeying from home, school narratives combine the issue of journey with that of development, and boys' quest for a public self reflects the formation of Victorian Britain's national self. Similarly, nineteenth-century adventure stories that portray boy characters' travel from the home country to foreign settings associate the transition to manhood with nation building; while traveling to liminal spaces outside Britain, boy characters experiment with their national identity as well as illustrating individual development into men.[8]

To examine how the boys' undecided position reflects Britain's national identity, I extend my exploration of Victorian boyhood to the idea of the Bildungsroman. The genre of the Bildungsroman has long been associated with time, for the reason that it presents characters who develop throughout the text. For example, Moretti discusses how time plays an important role in classical Bildungsromane such as *Wilhelm Meister* (1795) and *The Red and the Black* (1830), noting that time stops at the point the protagonists reach maturity. Here it is noteworthy that Moretti also uses the metaphor of

[8] In *Kipling's Imperial Boy* (2000), Don Randall notes that Rudyard Kipling's boy figure who is placed upon the "thresholds that stand between opposing identities and worlds" embodies the instability of the national boundaries, and his transition into maturity reflects the formation of national identity: "By seeing and situating, he acts as an agent in the envisioning of imperial other; characterized by access and mobility, he serves to integrate and coordinate under a continuous *imperium* the various, dispersed sites where power intervenes" (17).

space to describe the state of maturity: "One must learn first and foremost, to direct 'the plot of [his own] life' so that each moment strengthens one's *sense of belonging* to a wider community. Time must be used to find a *homeland*" (my italics 19). Although here Moretti does not focus on the protagonists' relationship with home, he is suggesting that maturity is related with one's feeling at home in a particular place.

Recently, scholars such as Margaret Cohen, Cannon Schmitt, Christopher Parkes, and Diana Loxley have proposed a reconception of the Bildungsroman by reading the issue of growing up in relation to "space" as well as challenging the notion that in the Bildungsroman socially isolated protagonists have some romantic quest to find their subjectivity. Schmitt and Parkes seek to find the elements of the Bildungsroman in adventure stories of the nineteenth century, particularly focusing on Robert Louis Stevenson's *Treasure Island* (1883).[9] However, instead of discussing how Jim Hawkins, the young hero of the novel, builds his subjectivity as a unique being by separating himself from an established society/conventions, they argue that he grows up through learning to survive in a certain place, as Robinson Crusoe does. In other words, the boy can reach maturity at the moment he begins to feel at home in a foreign setting, and his growing up enacts the domestication of the foreign place. Noting that Jim acquires technical knowledge and skills that are needed for the administration of the island, Parkes concludes that he turns an uninhabited island space into a nation-state. Loxley likewise argues that nineteenth-century adventure stories such as *Masterman Ready*

[9] See Margaret Cohen, *The Novel and the Sea*, 2012; Cannon Schmitt, "Technical Maturity in Robert Louis Stevenson" in *Representations* Vol.125 No.1, Winter 2014.

(1841) and *The Coral Island* (1858) portray how the boy characters move from youthful innocence to maturity through learning to survive in a foreign environment and that the acquisition of knowledge is central to their growing up either through reading or through experience. In this sense, it can be said that the recent studies of the Bildungsroman share with Tosh the thought that a boy grows up into a man by building his own home. As Parkes and Loxley suggest, the home that the boy builds is not an isolated space that indicates one's uniqueness. Rather, it is a reproduction of the home and home country that he leaves behind at the point of departure. By occupying a place and by transforming it into a home space, the homeless boys come to mark their legitimate position on the map of the society.

In keeping with these views, my study investigates the problem of growing up in terms of space. My proposition is that homeless boys are driven by the desire to occupy a legitimate position both in the home and in the home country more than by the desire to assert their individuality through exploring the unknown world. Notably, in many nineteenth-century fictions with the journey motif, middle-class boys' journey from home is not meant to disconnect them permanently from the domestic sphere (in terms both of nation and of home). Their journey is not depicted as an endless exile; rather, it seemingly follows one common direction: homeward. Such fictions place middle-class boys between the past home that they have lost and the future home that they have not discovered. To feel "at home," the boys need to adopt the values of the home even while being away from it. Although boys' school narratives and adventure stories seem to exclude women and domesticity from the site of development, characters often attempt

to reconstruct a home space with the aid of their memory of the home and knowledge of the home/homeland culture, and sometimes they prepare for their role as husbands while staying in an all-male community. Importantly, many nineteenth-century British fictions with the motif of growing up portray male characters striving to secure a domestic space and to get a wife who would protect and manage the home place for their sake. The ideology surrounding domesticity makes it impossible for them to feel at home without a "true wife" or to feel like a native in the home space that they have secured for themselves. Considering that they have not yet found a wife who might reconnect them to domesticity, it is not surprising that adolescent male characters are typically described as having a sense of homelessness and displacement. Also, some adventure stories that are set in foreign regions portray characters recreating the British home by building and furnishing houses according to British middle-class decorum. Instead of wandering around aimlessly, it turns out that they head for home even though they might have been unsure, over most of the narratives, where their journey would lead them.

Yet my study is differentiated from the existing analyses of the Bildungsroman in that it discusses the boys' failure to recover the home. With some signal exceptions, boys remain homeless and displaced. While many of the texts portraying boys' journeys end with their return to the home, readers cannot see how they get engaged with the recovered home because authors either depict their afterlife obscurely or end the story the moment they reach the end of the journey. Furthermore, though the boy characters attempt to transform certain places that they occupy into home spaces, it turns out that such spaces cannot be the same as the home that they have lost. As I will demonstrate,

their sense of homelessness derives from the fact that traveling from the home and home country complicates their relationship with those spaces. The dominant ideology of Victorian Britain asserts that British male subjects contribute to the expansion of the empire through their leaving and returning home, but fictions illuminate that they come to lose their connection with the home country instead of feeling at home anywhere. The sense of at-homeness/homelessness is therefore central to understanding contradictions lurking under the Victorian discourse of growing up and that of nation building.

Chapter Overviews

This dissertation contains four main chapters, all of them centering on particular places−the middle-class home, the boarding school, the foreign island, and the colony (India). Recently, Victorian scholars have analyzed how specific places were culturally constructed during that period. Elizabeth Gargano's *Reading Victorian Schoolrooms* (2008) combines the geography of Victorian schoolrooms and school gardens with gendered agendas and institutionality.[10] *Oceania and the Victorian Imagination: Where All Things Are Possible* (2013), Richard D. Fulton and Peter H. Hoffenberg's edited collection, includes articles exploring the relationship between the representation of South Sea islands and the discourse of slavery and the missionary movement.

[10] In *At Home in the Institution: Material Life in Asylums, Lodging Houses and Schools in Victorian and Edwardian England* (2014), Jane Hamlett explores the lives of those who lived outside family homes in nineteenth-century England. While she shares with Gargano the interest in the material life in schools for boys and girls, Hamlett extends her discussion to the three different types of institutional spaces: lunatic asylums, schools for the middle classes, working men's lodging houses. By looking at the interiors of such spaces and their residents' perception of home, this book investigates how institutional forms of domesticity were evoked.

Additionally, Mary Goodwin compares and contrasts representations of the English garden and the Indian jungle, concluding that they both serve as the "classroom of nature outside or parallel to mainstream culture" (106).[11] These works share my interest in the representations of places that either facilitate or subvert the formation of national regime through their relations to the home. Yet even though this dissertation analyzes how characters both occupy and exploit bounded places, as the scholars mentioned above do, it also looks at the issue of movement and mobility by analyzing the plotline in which characters leave and return to home.

While I discuss the significance of leaving the home in nineteenth-century fictions, I begin my journey within the home. I do so to propose that nineteenth-century middle-class men's sense of homelessness and displacement originates less from the actual distance from home than from the discourses of domesticity and the empire. In Chapter Two, I argue that the myth of middle-class domesticity causes homelessness to middle-class males and that they long for the true home even when they are within the home space. The central text of this chapter is Dickens's *David Copperfield* (1850). The reason why I focus on *David Copperfield* is that it typifies the intersection of the journey from home and the transition to male maturity. To read that intersection effectively, I draw on the cultural ideas concerning home decoration and children's plays such as toy-theater building and doll-play. This novel suggests that reaching manhood requires the ability to secure the home space (which is properly furnished and ornamented) and an

[11] See Mary Goodwin's "The Garden and the Jungle: Burnett, Kipling and the Nature of Imperial Childhood." *Children's Literature in Education* 42 (2011): 105-117.

ideal wife. As long as he has no true wife and no home of his own, neither David's physical journey nor his journey to manhood comes to an end. David's and other characters' sense of displacement and their struggle to construct a home shed light on the relations between domesticity and masculinity. Although David seemingly ends his quest for home as he unites with Agnes, the incarnation of the ideal Victorian wife, I assert that men's recovering the lost home remains as an impossible dream that can be fulfilled only through childish play.

Chapter Three focuses on narratives set in boarding schools. The central texts of this chapter are the two best known nineteenth-century public school narratives, Thomas Hughes's *Tom Brown's Schooldays* (1857) and F. W. Farrar's *Eric, or Little by Little* (1858), but I also consider later works such as Kipling's *Stalky & Co.* (1899) and Arnold Lunn's *The Harrovians: A Tale of Public School Life* (1914). These narratives combine the journey motif with the issues of male development by paralleling boys' passage to manhood with their leaving home for school. By comparing and contrasting Hughes's and Farrar's narratives, I examine how public school functions or fails to function as a second home for boys. As Gargano notes, in nineteenth-century school narratives boy characters strive to build a home space within the institutionalized school space, which is designed to turn them into ideal men. I investigate how the geography of boys' boarding schools reflects both the gendered agendas of the nineteenth century and the effort to stay connected to domesticity. By reading the two school narratives of Hughes and Farrar as a Bildungsroman and an anti-Bildungsroman, this chapter argues that the boys cannot recover their home whether they reach manhood or not. In *Eric, or Little by*

Little, Eric returns to his old home only through death. Unlike him, Tom Brown considers the school his second home, but it is suggested at the end that it is only a temporary home for him and that he comes to lose it the moment he reaches manhood, just as he loses his old home the moment he begins his first journey towards the school. At the end of the chapter, I examine how later works challenge mid-Victorian school stories through critiquing the idea of Old Boys, which represents adult homesickness for the school.

Chapter Four investigates how nineteenth-century representations of the foreign island complicate male homelessness and at-homeness in the empire. The central texts of this chapter are nineteenth-century island adventure stories, most prominently *The Coral Island*, *Masterman Ready*, and *Treasure Island*. While boarding schools function as an intermediary place that middle-class boys must get though before reaching manhood, the island functions as a boy's school garden located in a foreign place and sometimes as a temporary home that homeless boys/men stay in for a while. My proposition is that the island adventure stories both exploit and challenge the fantasy of at-homeness that justifies the domestication of the foreign. Scholars have noted that nineteenth-century British adventure fictions inherit the conventions of *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) by Daniel Defoe. Reading nineteenth-century island adventure stories alongside the Crusoe story enables us to better understand the relationship between the motif of homemaking and nation building. The second half of this chapter compares and contrasts boy adventurers with pirates, while drawing on the idea of "play" to further discuss how overseas occupation causes displacement from the home and home country. Although authors of

adventure stories consider the island as a site of male development, I argue that a foreign island is not a site of development but rather, a site of repetitive boyish play that forces some British subjects to stay in marginal spaces.[12]

Chapter Five traces how the problem of male homelessness intersects with imperial discourse, through examining the ways in which the colony is perceived in the context of the home. This chapter focuses on Kipling's *Kim* (1900), which portrays a wandering male orphan who does not feel a sense of displacement while traveling across India. While all the chapters of this dissertation look at nineteenth-century British fictions, Chapter Five is differentiated from the earlier chapters in that it focuses more on the issue of movement and mobility than on the representation of bounded places. In mid-Victorian fictions, boys who are separated from their home display a sense of homelessness, and it is their growing up that brings the end to their journey. At the end of his journey Kim reaches manhood as the mid-Victorian boys do, but instead of returning to home and home country, Kim gets thrilled by a sense of perfect harmony with the India landscape. In other words, his development does not send him back to his home/home country, but rather, he seems to embrace the condition of homelessness and displacement more thoroughly after acquiring maturity. Also, while the mid-nineteenth-century male characters' journey has a specific direction (homeward), Kim's movement in India has no such thing. Although both the foreign island and India are outside of the

[12] While the protagonist of *Robinson Crusoe* is not a boy, it has been noted that his island represents a fantasy world in which one can "play" one's dreams without any interference. In "Childhood, Play, and the Contexts of *Robinson Crusoe*" (2003), James Cruise highlights that Crusoe's adventures have the attributes of a child's imaginative play. In other words, Crusoe does not grow up as long as he stays on his island. Similarly, Bradley Deane claims that pirate stories such as *Treasure Island* illuminate the late Victorian discourse over "enduring boyishness" that was used in justifying imperial enterprise (690).

home country, we can say that India is an expanded version of the island, and as it is far from the home country, the relationship between the center of the empire and its margin is more ambivalent.

By associating boyhood with its national character, Victorian Britain celebrates its continuing advancement to the margins, as well as promising its subjects that they are stably anchored at its center even while being away from it. While the dominant discourse of Victorian Britain asserts that male subjects contribute to home building through leaving and returning to it, fictions illuminate that they come to lose it irrecoverably instead of feeling at home anywhere. Tracing the boys' movements from the domestic interior to the public school, the foreign island, and to the colony, this dissertation explores how the progression of the imperial enterprise alters the very definition of the home as well as unsettling its boundary.

CHAPTER II

HOMECOMING AND HOMEMAKING: THE CONSTRUCTION OF MIDDLE-CLASS MASCULINITY IN DAVID COPPERFIELD

> Thus the house is not experienced from day to day only, on the thread of a narrative, or in the telling of our own story. Through dreams, the various dwelling-places in our lives co-penetrate and retain the treasures of former days. And after we are in the new house, when memories of other places we have lived in come back to us, we travel to the land of Motionless Childhood, motionless the way all Immemorial things are. We live fixations, fixations of happiness. . . . When we dream of the house we were born in, in the utmost depths of revery, we participate in this original warmth, in this well-tempered matter of the material paradise.
>
> −Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*

In the above quotation, Bachelard constructs the house as a medium through which we express our nostalgia for our lost childhood. For the Victorian middle classes, specifically, the sense of nostalgia for the home operates as an actual force that drives boys to physically "travel to the land of Motionless Childhood" and to seek the "material paradise" in the form of an ideal home. This chapter examines how the process of middle-class homecoming and homemaking reflects desire to be reconnected to childhood homes, which unsettles the Victorian discourse over male self-advancement. Additionally, as I will argue, middle-class boys cannot truly recover domesticity after finishing their journey to manhood. While they attempt to recover it through building the ideal home, they remain as homeless, emotionally, and their remaining sense of displacement highlights unresolved tensions within the ideology of male development.

Many nineteenth-century British literary texts present gendered space by placing men and women without and within the home space, respectively. Notably, many male traveler characters become homeless in seeking middle-class domesticity. For example,

Enoch Arden (1864), Alfred Tennyson's narrative poem, portrays a merchant sailor who goes to sea to support his family. That he buys goods for his wife Annie, "set[s] his hand / To fit their little streetward sitting room / With shelf and corner for the goods and stores" (169-71) before going out to sea, and asks her to "keep a clean hearth and a clear fire" (192) for him indicate that his becoming homeless is closely associated with the building of the household. Male aspiration toward middle-class domesticity is also presented in the first scene, in which young Enoch Arden, "a rough sailor's lad / Made orphan by a winter shipwreck" (14-15) plays at keeping house with Annie in a cave, considering both the cave-house and Annie his possessions. In this scene the children's mini-home is "[a]mong the waste and lumber of the shore" (16) which hints at the presence of the sea out there, and further, the chance of shipwreck that has destroyed homes including young Enoch's.

Unlike his father, the sailor who gets drowned, Tennyson’s protagonist survives a shipwreck and returns to his hometown at the end of the narrative. Because it turns out that Annie has a new home with middle-class Philip, Enoch and Annie's friend from childhood, instead of keeping house for him during his absence, Enoch fails to recover home and dies lonely in a tavern. Despite Annie’s faithlessness, however, she seems inseparable from the idea of home in his mind. Interestingly, the island that he arrives at with two other sailors after a shipwreck makes a contrast with the ideal home that he dreams of before leaving England:

> No want was there of human sustenance,
>
> Soft fruitage, mighty nuts, and nourishing roots;

Nor save for pity was it hard to take

The helpless life so wild that it was tame.

There in a seaward-gazing mountain-gorge

They built, and thatch'd with leaves of palm, a hut,

Half hut, half native cavern. So the three,

Set in this Eden of all plenteousness,

Dwelt with eternal summer, ill-content. (550-558)

Although this new place that Enoch Arden finds in the sea is described as a paradise, he yearns to escape it because it can offer him no domestic comfort. What Enoch is looking for is a specifically middle-class home that is kept by a woman.

Similarly, Christina Rossetti's *Sing-Song: A Nursery Rhyme Book* (1872) also conforms to this gendered mapping so prevalent in the Victorian period by imagining man as a traveler and woman as a homemaker. While this book does not focus on relationships among adults, one poem that starts with "Minnie bakes oaten cakes" describes a wife who, unlike Annie, keeps a house clean and cozy for the sake of her husband coming from sea. The entire poem reads as follows:

Minnie bakes oaten cakes,

Minnie brews ale,

All because her Johnny's coming

Home from sea.

And she glows like a rose,

Who was so pale,

And 'Are you sure the church clock goes?'

Says she.

In the illustration by Arthur Hughes, the woman is placed at the center of a domestic space, looking at the church clock out of an open door. This poem highlights a clear division between the roles of husband and wife and in the spheres they occupy. Rossetti includes another poem about a sailor husband and a wife waiting for him at home; this time the illustration portrays the husband steering a ship instead of the wife at home.[13] In either case, we can see that husband and wife are occupying separate spheres. Making a contrast to the sailor figures, in this book women are placed in enclosed spaces, waiting for a husband to return, or waiting for a sailor to bring corals from the sea.

Enoch Arden and Rossetti's poems about husband and wife allow us to revisit the doctrine of gendered spheres prevalent in the Victorian period. As Jenni Calder points out in *The Victorian Home* (1977), homemaking was considered woman's work; indeed, the making of a home was not only woman's work but also "the only reflection of her achievement and her importance" (103) as well as the representation of the ideal of womanhood (105). At the same time, the association between home and woman as the Angel in the House led to her imprisonment. While the idea of the Angel in the House was used to construct home as an "earthly paradise" and to foreground women's sacred side, it also confined women to the domestic sphere, eventually operating, in Vanessa D. Dickerson's words, "to fix [woman] at the center of a dwelling increasingly bounded and

[13] The entire poem is: "I have a little husband/ And he is gone to sea,/ The winds that whistle round his ship/ Fly home to me."

marked by 'gates, drives, hedges and walls,' to limit, moreover, her access to exterior expanses, and to abstract and thereby dismiss her powers in realms where men expressed themselves and wielded material-based power" (xv).

Furthermore, as Angella Poon notes, the image of Victorian women as homebodies served to shape the national image as well as promoting the idea of national stability during the period of imperial expansion: "If women's enshrined location in the domestic sphere guaranteed national stability, their bodies were also marked in other ways in mid-century domestic discourse to signify Englishness and underwrite social order" (26). According to Poon, while the Victorians believed that there is a clear distinction between domestic/public spheres, paradoxically domestic ideal helped to facilitate England's imperial activities. For example, in "Lady Travelers" (1845), Elizabeth Rigby states that the Englishman "takes his home with him" and therefore does not feel uncomfortable or dispirited "in any remote corner of the world" (qtd. in Poon 28). In other words, women's confinement to home is expected to enable male travelers to feel at home when they are outside of it. As I will argue, however, this doctrine of separate spheres does not always operate; Charles Dickens's David Copperfield cannot feel at home even without leaving England, his home country.

Although I agree that the ideology of the domestic angel caused confinement to women in the Victorian period, in this chapter I intend to examine how gendered space also caused homelessness to men and how men's homelessness complements women's confinement like the other side of the same coin. Since home was imagined as a feminine sphere, men come in many literary texts to identify themselves as homeless

travelers, and their attempt to return to a home turns out to be a failure. To illustrate how this trope of men as travelers worked in practice, I focus in this chapter on the work of Dickens, whose work betrays the Victorian notion of gendered space as well as promoting the cult of domesticity through his representations of angelic women. *David Copperfield* (1849) is a particularly good example in that it adopts the idea of man as a traveler and woman as a homekeeper. Simultaneously, however, it betrays how such gendering makes it impossible for men to have a home in this world instead of occupying a paradise on earth. Initially, this chapter discusses how David's struggle to return home plays a key role in his transition between boyhood and manhood. The second section of the chapter draws on the motif of the toy theater and doll-play in order to claim that David fails to reconnect to a home even though he builds a respectable household as well as securing an ideal wife. The third and final section of the chapter discusses how the recovery of domesticity remains as an unrealizable dream to adult men, focusing on the figure of the madman in the house.

Men's Journey to Marriage

David Copperfield begins with its protagonist's birth and childhood. David Copperfield is born six months after his father's death, raised by his girlish mother and a kindly housekeeper named Clara Peggotty. After his mother marries Mr. Murdstone, he is sent away to the home of Peggotty's brother in Yarmouth, a seaside village. After returning, he is sent to a boarding school, Salem House, and Peggotty marries a local carrier named Mr. Barkis. As his mother dies young, his stepfather sends him to a wine

merchant, but he runs away and walks from London to Dover to meet his great-aunt, Betsey Trotwood. Aunt Betsey treats him like an adopted son and sends him to a better school. David falls in love with and marries Dora Spenlow, a childlike woman, but as she dies soon he travels Europe with a broken heart. Realizing that he loves Agnes, daughter of Mr. Wickfield the lawyer whose house he lodges in during his schooldays, he returns to England, marries Agnes, and the novel closes with him living a happy life as a successful writer, husband, and father.

As the above plot summary shows, "journeying" is not used just as a metaphor; rather, the protagonist of the novel continues his physical and mental journey until he finds a final home to settle at. In this novel physical space is crucial in understanding the ways in which the journey motif works as a rite of passage. It provides detailed descriptions of diverse places that constitute nineteenth-century England: middle-class domestic interiors, London streets, lodging houses, inns, schools, seaside villages, and more. However, though David's journey does involve exteriors, the domestic interior is the most important space in an understanding of his pilgrimage. As Steven Marcus points out, the theme of homelessness and displacement is prevalent in many of Dickens's novels such as *The Pickwick Papers* (1837), *Oliver Twist* (1837), *Bleak House* (1853), and *Our Mutual Friend* (1865), and diverse representations of homes are found in these texts. Specifically, Marcus claims that *Bleak House* raises the question of homelessness in the largest and the subtlest senses by showing us "a whole series of representations of middle-class families whose existence and homes are destroyed by a variety of ravaging derelictions−personal, ideological, legal, and social−that seize hold

of those responsible for keeping and maintaining homes and families together" (92). Like *Bleak House*, *David Copperfield* includes numerous examples of domestic interiors, but it is focused more on the representation and critique of middle-class domesticity than on the depiction of the vast structure surrounding homes.[14] It is true that David passes through exterior spaces such as London streets and marshes during his journey. However, they have significance as either the passage to the home or places that remind him of his own homelessness, while in *Bleak House* the portraits of London streets are presented as just as important as the domestic interiors.

In contrast to *Bleak House*'s focus on the homelessness of the poor (Marcus 92), *David Copperfield* focuses on the homelessness of middle-class men. David's whole journey is concerned with his incurable sense of displacement. His journey does not include only physical movements in exterior places; rather, it also takes the form of a tour among diverse existing homes, none of which can cure him of his sense of homelessness until he marries Agnes. [15] In searching for a new home, he comes to

[14] Lauren Cameron and William A. Cohen focus on representations of rooms in Dickens's novels in investigating the relationship between subject and domestic architecture and claiming that architectural language has been frequently applied to mind in literature. Noting that many authors including Dickens and Elizabeth Gaskell understand the mind as a room or a house that can be inhabited and visited, Cameron claims that *Hard Times* shows us the ways in which one's treatment of home decoration can affect one's mental health (66). Similarly, in analyzing the domestic architecture of *David Copperfield*, Cohen argues that the metaphor of the room signifies one's interaction with the other. According to Cohen, in *David Copperfield* spying through keyholes enables interaction between two bodies with a door between them: "The keyhole suggests a continuity between perception and other forms of bodily ingestion. It is the sign and symbol not of distance but of connection between two bodies: it functions less as wall and more as chink" (13). I share with these scholars an interest in the representation of domestic interiors, and I agree that an author's representation of the room space is important in understanding the relationship between characters who inhabit the same household. However, I propose to focus on the concept of the "house" instead of that of the "room," because my primary interest is in the relationship between the inside and outside the home.

[15] Alan P. Barr notes that though David wishes Blunderstone and Yarmouth to be timeless and idyllic, "both of these bowers of bliss quickly implode" (58), and Aunt Betsey's cottage cannot function as a permanent home for him even though he seems to recover his social status by being taken into it (59).

examine various types of domesticities that are associated with class distinctions, which makes him a "social sojourner" (Barr 57). In fact, David is not the only male character who is presented as a traveler in this fiction. In addition to the representations of middle-class homes, he gets the opportunity to contemplate several examples of fellow travelers such as James Steerforth, Traddles, and Micawber, who are all concerned with the problem of domesticity and middle-class manhood. These characters are all homeless in some sense, but Dickens portrays some of them as building a home at the end while others engage with perpetual wandering. Comparing and contrasting their different destinations will enable us to understand the Victorian ideas regarding male domesticity.

First, it is noteworthy that David Copperfield loses home more than once in this fiction. He even repeats the experience of losing the same home through recalling the past. After finishing his education in Dr. Strong's academy, he visits the old home in which he lived happily with his mother and the housekeeper, but by doing so he only confirms that it is lost not just in his memory and imagination but also in reality: "There were great changes in my old home. The ragged nests, so long deserted by the rooks, were gone; and the trees were lopped and topped out of their remembered shapes. The garden had run wild, and half the windows of the house were shut up" (307). Moreover, this is not the only home that he loses, as he feels a similar sense of loss about Mr. Peggotty's boathouse and the time that he spends there. When he returns to Yarmouth after his mother's death, both the seaside village and the house seem familiar to him. Yet he notices that something has changed in the old place, which mirrors his feeling that his

relationship with Emily−Mr. Peggotty's foster child and David's playmate−has changed during his absence.

Just like the experience of losing home, the ceremony of homecoming is repeated in this fiction. It is portrayed as an important ritual, through which David becomes more conscious of the irrecoverability of the old home. In the homecoming scenes David is welcomed with great enthusiasm. When he revisits the house of Clara Peggotty and Mr. Barkis, which once served as a dear place to him when he had no other home, Peggotty does not recognize him at first because he has changed so, making the event of homecoming seem more dramatic. When she finally recognizes him, she welcomes him almost hysterically, failing to control her emotions. David can feel that they are returning to the old days through their reunion:

> What extravagances she committed−what laughing and crying over me−what pride she showed, what joy−what sorrow that she, whose pride and joy I might have been, could never hold me in a fond embrace−I have not the heart to tell. I was troubled with no misgiving that it was young in me to respond to her emotions. I had never laughed and cried in all my life, I dare say−not even to her−more freely than I did that morning. (295)

In this passage David's homecoming seems to revive his child self, which has remained intact within him. By returning to the old place, he can feel that he is getting reconnected both with his old home and with his childhood. When Mr. Barkis greets him with enthusiasm just like Peggotty and hopes to revive the old days−he begs David "to shake the tassel on the top of his nightcap" (295) and then asks him many questions about the

day that he drove the young David on the Blunderstone road−readers get the impression that the homecoming ceremony serves to turn the clock back. Similarly, David feels that his infantine memory awakens within him in the scene in which he enters his family home and hears his mother's song coming from the old parlor. Although he first considers his old home "a dream [he] could never dream again" (104), his mother's voice and the old melody that he remembers makes him imagine that he becomes a baby in a mother's arms once more. That Peggotty gives him his "own old plate," his "own old mug," and his "own old little knife and fork that wouldn't cut" in this scene also implies that the effect of returning to the past is created through homecoming (105).

Importantly, however, the recovery of the old home is presented as temporary in both scenes. In Mr. Barkis's house David soon learns that things have changed after he left the house; just as Emily is not the innocent girl that he used to know, Mr. Barkis has grown old and weak, and in spite of the reunion, both Barkis and David know that there is not much time left in which they can be together in this world. In the scene in which he comes to see his mother and baby brother, the moment of happiness is soon gone, and he comes to reaffirm the truth that he cannot recover his old home. Recalling how his mother called him "her dear Davy, her own boy" just as she did in the old days, he wishes that he had died at this moment of intense reunification with the domestic: "I wish I had died. I wish I had died then, with that feeling in my heart! I should have been more fit for heaven than I ever have been since" (105). His yearning to crystallize the moment that he once again felt like his mother's "dear Davy" suggests that the experience of reconnecting to the domestic and the mother is only temporary. That he

loses his mother by her death soon after this scene also highlights the impossibility of recovering the old connection with his home and with his childhood.

For David home is conceived as an object of nostalgia throughout the fiction, as if it exists only in his own fancy and memory. Although he describes in detail the old house in which he lived with his mother and Peggotty, it has an aura of innocence and perfect happiness around it, which makes it seem like a lost paradise. Since he cannot come back to the past, home remains unattainable and irrecoverable. In narrating his youth in retrospect, David points out some crucial moments when he senses the loss of his home. In the scene in which he leaves his mother's house for the first time, the David who has grown old now narrates, "It touches me nearly now, although I tell it lightly, to recollect how eager I was to leave my happy home; to think how little I suspected what I did leave for ever" (26). When he returns to the home, it is not the same place to him, not just psychologically, but also physically; his bed has been removed to a strange room during his absence, and he cannot help feeling like a stranger in his new room, noticing there unfamiliar things such as the shape of the room, the cracks in the ceiling, and the rickety washing stand. Not only does he lose his happy childhood with his mother the moment he leaves the old home, but he also comes to occupy a marginal place within the house, which foreshadows his being banished from home and sent away to a boarding school.

In fact this is not the only moment of irrecoverable loss and separation. It can be said that Mr. Peggotty's boathouse, in which David stays for two weeks, helps to suspend the end of his childhood. While the first home is preserved in his memory as a

lost paradise, the boathouse enables the young David to believe that he could remain there as a child forever. The repetition of the word "little" in the description of the boathouse makes it look like a child's playhouse in which every little object is fit for its little owner. It is the littleness of everything that makes the boathouse "snug" to him:

> All this, I saw in the first glance after I crossed the threshold−childlike, according to my theory−and then Peggotty opened a *little* door and showed me my bedroom. It was the completest and most desirable bedroom ever seen−in the stern of the vessel; with a *little* window, where the rudder used to go through; a *little* looking-glass, just the right height for me, nailed against the wall, and framed with oyster shells; a *little* bed, which there was just room enough to get into; and a nosegay of seaweed in a blue mug on the table. (my italics 29)

As we see from this passage, the boathouse is a place on which David's desire to sustain his childhood is projected. Being separated from the outside world "like enchantment" (30), it offers him the feeling that he can be insulated even from the lapse of time.[16]

Yet it soon becomes certain that a child's playhouse cannot be his final home. In recalling in sadness his days with little Emily, the narrator depicts himself and Emily as a boy and a girl who wished not to grow up: "As to any sense of inequality, or

[16] Mr. Peggotty's boathouse is not only located far from the village, it is also differentiated from other houses in the fact that it is a boat-house. I think that its being both a boat and a house indicates something about the dual aspects of "adventure" in the Victorian imagination. While a boat indicates adventurous spirit, youth, potentiality, and imperial expansion, at the same time it indicates a life of an outsider or an outcast. While living in the boathouse enchants David by promising great adventures, it also means the precarious lives of subjects who are pushed out to the margin of the nation/empire. I will further discuss the significance of the sailing image in Chapter Three and Chapter Four.

youthfulness, or other difficulty in our way, little Em'ly and I had no such trouble, because we had no future. We made no more provision for growing older, than we did for growing younger" (35). Not only the narrator who speaks in retrospect but also all the adults who witness their childhood days are aware that such a wish cannot come true. David recalls that when Emily and he sat "lovingly on [their] little locker side by side," adults watched them with pleasure, as if they were delighting in "a pretty toy, or a pocket model of the Colosseum" (36). In spite of his yearning to grasp time, the narrator knows that the loss of the old home and childhood is inevitable.

Although the loss of childhood is a universal phenomenon, David's sense of homelessness and displacement is associated with his being a middle-class boy. The pursuit of middle-class status is associated with the journey motif in many nineteenth-century literary texts. As Patrick McCarthy writes, David's sense of homelessness is related to the fundamental instability of the urban middle class. In Victorian society, the middle classes were "the class between the polarities of deprivation and privilege, between the indigent and the inheritors" (McCarthy 24). Having no "fixed place in a stratified system" (McCarthy 23), middle-class people had to achieve their own position in society through effort and luck, and this feeling of instability caused constant anxiety over homelessness. Furthermore, *David Copperfield* highlights that middle-class identity is what one should "acquire" for oneself instead of inheriting from one's father. [17] Chris

[17] Vanden Bossche pays particular attention to the early scene in which Aunt Betsey asks why the name of the family home is Blunderstone Rookery and then states that "[c]ookery would have been more to the purpose." By pointing out the parallel between the word "cookery" and "rookery," Vanden Bossche argues that there is a tension between the two middle-class values. According to him, the rookery represents social status that is concerned with land and family origin, while cookery represents middle-class values

R. Vanden Bossche notes that David's quest for home and family runs parallel with the quest for social legitimacy, and the pursuit of middle-class identity is not described as "destined by providence" in his case (88). By making a comparison between *Oliver Twist* and *David Copperfield*, Vanden Bossche argues that the latter is "not a novel of origin but of destination" (88). While in *Oliver Twist* the recovery of family origin leads to the recovery of social status, in *David Copperfield* family origin does not guarantee social legitimacy, and unlike Oliver's, David's journey does not end when he revisits his family home; though David does return to Blunderstone Rookery and to other places that are associated with his past, doing so does not make him feel at home.

As stated in the introduction to this dissertation, historians such as John Tosh have focused on middle-class fathers' anxiety about fatherhood and position at home, but *David Copperfield* focuses more on the boy's self-positioning in domestic space. According to Julia Prewitt Brown, because the middle-class home is culturally associated with security and stability, the possibility of losing it becomes more terrifying: the more snug and cozy the inside is, the more cold, dangerous, and miserable the outside is. In David's quest for home, physical distance from the home is not as important as the problem of being inside or outside of the home. When he travels to Dover as an outcast, searching for Aunt Betsey's house, he is anxious that he might not be allowed to enter it. After setting foot in the town, he narrates that he "seemed as distant from [his] end as if [he] had remained in London" (181) and that the aim of the

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such as economy and discipline, which can be acquired and practiced with effort. David's quest for family and identity teaches him to seek for the ideals of cookery instead of those of rookery.

journey, the home, "seemed to vanish like a dream, and to leave [him] helpless and dispirited" (181). This comment indicates that his journey ends only when he is accepted into a domestic circle and that the very notion of domesticity remains insubstantial for him until the moment he earns a legitimate position in it.[18]

Aunt Betsey's house is presented as the place that David associates with idyllic childhood and feels nostalgia for, but on the other hand, it is undeniably a class-bounded place, and therefore entering its interior offers him a chance to enter the passage to middle-class manhood. It is hard to overlook that the homes that he looks into with yearning eyes have class distinctions. In the scene in which he looks into the "neat little cottage with cheerful bow windows" (182), readers can notice household objects and decorations that are associated with Victorian middle-class culture. In this scene the domestic objects that are contained by the window frame signify middle-class domesticity, but simultaneously, they can block David's view, reminding him of his own position as an outsider:

> [The handmaid] left me standing at the garden gate, looking desolately over the top of it towards the parlour window, where a muslin curtain partly undrawn in the middle, a large round green screen or fan fastened on to the window sill, a small table, and a great chair, suggested to me that my aunt might be at that moment seated in awful state. (182)

[18] Although Aunt Betsey's handmaid allows David to follow her to the garden gate of the cottage, she disappears into the building, saying only, "This is Miss Trotwood's . . . Now you know; and that's all I have got to say" (182). This comment implies that he has no guide who will facilitate his entry to the home, which is related to Vanden Bossche's argument about the acquisition of middle-class identity.

The green screen or fan is one of the domestic objects that constitute the home décor, which serves to add snugness to the interior space, but at the same time, it prevents those who are outside including David from looking into the house. Similarly, Aunt Betsey's garden, which is "beautifully tended, and smelling deliciously" (182), makes the domestic interior more snug by surrounding it, but it also signifies the distance between the outside(r) and the inside(r).

Fundamentally, this novel praises settlement and domestic ideals through a homeless subject's travel story. Recalling his own youth as a "pilgrimage" or a "journey," David states in retrospect that he always aspired to finish the journey as soon as possible. Because he is painfully conscious of his own youthfulness, he often seems to feels guilty about being young and unsettled. As McCarthy points out, though this fiction uses diverse tropes of a Bildungsroman, it presents middle-class domesticity as its protagonist's fundamental goal, and most of its characters are depicted as homebound (22). In "I am born," the first chapter of *David Copperfield*, David narrates that he was born with a caul, which was soon advertised for sale. Although a caul was believed to protect sailors from drowning, ironically it is won by an old lady who "was never drowned, but died triumphantly in bed at ninety-two" (2). The old lady's contempt for those who "go 'meandering' about the world" (2) implies that seafaring life is associated with danger, discomfort, and even sin in her imagination. Simultaneously, however, David points out that the life of the old lady who "never had been on the water in her life, except upon a bridge" is entangled with those of sailors whether she acknowledges it or not: "It was in vain to represent to her that some conveniences, tea perhaps

included, resulted from this objectionable practice. She always returned, with greater emphasis and with an instinctive knowledge of the strength of her objection, 'Let us have no meandering'" (2). This episode, which appears at the very beginning of this fiction and of David's story, highlights unresolved tensions between two opposites that are crucial to the Victorian value system: adventure vs. settlement. While here David implies that the old lady's homebound life causes her to be selfish, narrow-minded, and short-sighted, her objection to "meandering" resonates through the fiction with some power, being more than her own personal opinion. To avoid accusations of "meandering," David the narrator strives to convince readers that home is the fixed aim of his entire journey. Here it is noteworthy that David's journey to middle-class manhood is associated both with the tropes of the adventure story and with the Victorian idealization of domesticity. To acquire the latter, or in other words, to eventually return home, David first must endure being a traveler/wanderer. But by ending his story with the depiction of a happy home life with Agnes Wickfield, he attempts to differentiate his own journey from an outcast's aimless wandering. [19]

[19] In *Youth of Darkest England* (2005) Troy Boone claims that Henry Mayhew's *London Labour and the London Poor* (1861-1862) attempts to alert his middle-class readers to the "unregulated mobility" of the street people. Boone notes that Mayhew's portraits of the working class highlight the Victorian hate and fear toward uncontrolled wandering. According to Boone, Mayhew argues that the middle classes should rescue the wandering poor from degradation by regulating and organizing their movements with imperial enterprises such as emigration as well as daily surveillance within the city space (39). Interestingly, being aware that his project turned him into a wanderer, Mayhew attempts to justify his own wandering by emphasizing that he has a "proper middle-class home life that he presumably departs from and returns to each day," thereby highlighting the wandering poor's rejection of domesticity (Boone 33-34). It is true that Dickens does not share this view of the street people with Mayhew; rather, he critiques the social structure that forces the street people to wander endlessly, making it impossible for them to settle anywhere. His novel *Bleak House*, for example, portrays a street boy who is always forced to "move on." Despite this difference, it seems that Dickens adopts negative views towards "wandering" and the Victorian discourse on middle-class domesticity in *David Copperfield*.

David identifies himself with a traveler throughout the story, borrowing the trope of the male traveler/adventurer, only to express an enduring sense of homelessness and displacement. For instance, he identifies himself with Robinson Crusoe, the most influential icon of adventure in his childhood reading, more than once in this fiction, such as when he narrates that he was "more solitary than Robinson Crusoe" (69) on his way to the school. He also imagines himself as a traveler who is wandering in a foreign place when he and Mr. Barkis stop by a coffee room on his way to the school: "It was a large long room, with some large maps in it. I doubt if I could have felt much stranger if the maps had been real foreign countries, and I cast away in the middle of them" (63). While the image of the map conventionally serves to promote the ideals of imperial expansion, the maps on the walls of the coffee room make David feel more homeless and lost instead of evoking restlessness and a spirit of adventure within him, by reminding him that he is outside of the home. That he is painfully conscious of his status as an outsider is made clear in the scene in which he imagines "the insides of the houses" and "what the inhabitants were about" while passing through a village on his way to the school (67).[20] That his gaze goes toward the inside of the home instead of going out to

[20] This scene strongly resembles the journey scenes of *A Peep Behind the Scenes* (1877) by Mrs. O. F. Walton. In both stories, journeying is associated with an outcast's status and with the loss of home. Interestingly, Rosalie, the protagonist of *A Peep Behind the Scenes*, recovers happiness by eventually being accepted into her aunt's household, and her changed status is presented by her looking out through the very garden gate through which she gazed at the house a year before. Discovering a caravan passing before the house, Rosalie feels contented that she is "safe and sheltered in this quiet, happy home" and decides that she will never wander into the world again. Just like Rosalie's journey, David's journey records how he became an insider, and his gaze travels into the domestic space just like Rosalie's. His sex, however, considerably complicates his trajectory toward domestic security.

the wide world during the journey implies that his journey fundamentally aims at becoming an insider of the home space.

As his schooldays at Doctor Strong's draw near their end, David begins imagining his own future life. Significantly, he makes use of the tropes of male adventurers while envisioning and romanticizing his youth (and further, manhood itself), even though he is not able to imagine it concretely enough: "Misty ideas of being a young man at my own disposal, of the importance attaching to a young man at his own disposal, of the wonderful things to be seen and done by that magnificent animal, and the wonderful effects he could not fail to make upon society, lured me away" (262). Nevertheless, despite this self-identification as an adventurer/traveler, he soon discovers that he is not suited to any kind of "miraculous provision," confessing that neither "the knowledge of the science of navigation" nor "the command of a fast-sailing expedition" motivates him to wander into the wide world (262). Here it is interesting to note that not just David but Aunt Betsey also adopts the common notion of Victorian middle-class masculinity when encouraging him to go on a trip. Although she does not romanticize manhood as much as David does, her choice of terms such as "will of your own," "resolution," "determination," "strength of character" comes from the Victorian discourse that regards independence as the core of masculinity. That Aunt Betsey sends him on an "expedition" alone so that he can have time for "thinking and looking about him" (264) also highlights that entering middle-class manhood is associated with the journey motif in the Victorian imagination. In this respect, David's story seems to follow

the conventions of an adventure story in which journey allows a young protagonist to grow up into a mature man.[21]

Nevertheless, this fiction twists these conventions by presenting home as the fundamental aim of the journey. The trope of male adventurer/traveler is used for the critique of male homelessness and for the idealization of domesticity and settlement instead of serving for the glorification of male restlessness. If David is a traveler and his whole story records a journey, he is a lonely traveler whose only aspiration is that he returns home. In noting that *David Copperfield* attempts to construct David as a triumphant hero, James R. Kincaid asserts that David "like[s] to formulate his narrative as a causal and clear line of self-development: a series of events and reactions to those events that will explain his maturation, his notorious ability to discipline his heart and so forth" (106). However, as Kincaid points out, this kind of progressive narrative is countered by another one. While David tries to reconstruct his own youth as a "straight-line Horatio Alger story" by emphasizing "the ability of a strong character to mold the shape of his own destiny" (Kincaid 106), his narrative keeps returning to a starting point. As Kincaid argues, in his narrative the moments of starting anew appear many times, making his narrative into a series of repetitions and his movement cyclic (107), and this suggests that the narrative of this fiction is not as progressive or linear as it claims to be.

[21] In *Unbecoming Women* (1993), Susan Fraiman points out that the hero of English novels of development begins his development by leaving home. Fraiman notes that the heroes of the traditional Bildungsroman are portrayed as middle-class men who aspire to secure a position in society by cultivating their own talents: "Wilhelm and his kinsmen look around, ask themselves where their unique talents lie, and self-consciously determine to cultivate those talents" (5). Similarly, David Copperfield goes on a journey to look around and ask himself about his talent, as if the very act of leaving home and looking around is a rite of passage to middle-class manhood.

Although Kincaid's discussion of *David Copperfield* does not focus on the idea of the home, the cyclic patterns that Kincaid observes characterize David's quest for home. The non-progressive quality of his narrative comes from the fact that he seeks to recover home and that the Victorian conception of male development is associated with this recovery of home rather than with self-advancement.

Through portraying a traveler who seeks for domesticity and settlement instead of adventure in the outer world, Dickens suggests that male development is associated with the former rather than with the latter. Unlike the male traveler figures whose minds are constantly projected into the wide world and for whom home is either a hindrance to adventure or a port to stop by between adventures, David is portrayed as a sailor who is looking for a permanent home, and the end of his journey is marriage. Significantly, while David expresses excitement about the fact that he begins a journey to manhood, what he really does during the journey is to revisit the old places that are related to his past. In the scene in which he visits Yarmouth together with Steerforth, it becomes clear that his journey is far from those of the traditional male traveler figures; in contrast to Steerforth, David seems totally homebound. He tells us that Steerforth, a good sailor, enjoys going out boating. Interestingly, his portrait of Steerforth includes conventional phrases that are used for the idealization of male adventurers, for instance David's comment that "his restless nature and bold spirits delighted to find a vent in rough toil and hard weather, as in any other means of excitement that presented itself freshly to him" (306). That he fascinates listeners with a sailor's song and tells them his "merry adventure of his own" (304) by the fireside also suggests that Steerforth represents a

romanticized adventurer, a figure commonly used to promote the ideal of imperialist expansion. By contrast, David narrates that he himself "generally remained ashore" (305) to stay home with Peggotty, and that he wandered alone "to recall every yard of the old road as [he] went along it, and to haunt the old spots, of which [he] never tried" instead of seeking for new adventures (306). Thus, though superficially David's journey seems to aim at entering the outside world, its true aim turns out to be to find a way back to home.

Being aware that it is not easy to marry Dora and still dreaming about a married life with her, David repeatedly imagines himself as a traveler. He calls himself a mariner sailing in a "distressed ship in a sea of bedclothes" (485), or a "tempest-driven bark" (524). It is true that he becomes restless just like Steerforth or other male heroes of travel stories, but his wandering aims to discover a way into Dora's home instead of seeking new adventures and amusements. Confessing that in the first flush of his love for Dora, he haunted the Bazaar like an "unquiet spirit" (381) and walked about the streets untiringly, he states that he felt like a shipwrecked mariner: "how I felt when Mr. Spenlow went home without me (I had had insane hope that he might take me back again), as if I were a mariner myself, and the ship to which I belonged had sailed away and left me on a desert island" (381). Here Dora's home is presented both as a new home that he aspires to enter and as a home that he has lost and wants to return to. While here David uses the image of a male traveler, what the unquiet spirit yearns for is not a sea or a dream island on which he can enjoy adventures but a domestic interior, and marriage is the only way into it.

Emily Rena-Dozier claims that *David Copperfield* is a domesticated version of Henry Fielding's *Tom Jones* (1749), "the great masculine novel of the eighteenth-century" (814). It is important to note that David inherits the eighteenth-century novels from his dead father: "In a novel overstocked with missing fathers, bad fathers, and incompetent fathers, the eighteenth-century novel is the only inheritance upon which one can rely" (Rena-Dozier 817). Pointing out that he narrates stories of these male heroes to Steerforth, Rena-Dozier suspects that the storytelling may have influenced Steerforth to seduce Emily "in a suspiciously Tom Jonesish fashion" (819), even though David the narrator denies such a possibility. According to Rena-Dozier, *David Copperfield* unsettles the dichotomy between male and female spheres by rewriting domestic fiction as a male genre, thereby "recast[ing] the eighteenth-century novel as appropriate for a Victorian readership" (819). In other words, this fiction borrows the generic features of a domestic fiction and a conventional male Bildungsroman. By associating the hero's development with domesticity, it helps to redefine the meaning of male development.

Rena-Dozier is not the only scholar who notes the tension between the two genres played out in this fiction. Fraiman argues that the conventional Bildungsroman including *David Copperfield* and *Great Expectations* presents the male hero's "willful self-making" (6). Quoting Susanne Howe, Fraiman points out that in the conventional Bildungsroman the static female figures function as "milestones" for the mobile male hero, helping to "measure out the hero's progress" (7). Furthermore, Fraiman quotes Mary Poovey, agreeing to Poovey's argument that the female figures of *David Copperfield* help to "map" David's passage to manhood:

> Mary Poovey, in her reading of *David Copperfield*, offers a compelling example of the way sequenced women map male development. In this case, David's passage to manhood via Clara-Emily-Dora-Agnes involves the splitting off of Clara's sexual willfulness, lower-classness, and domestic incompetence, and the reembodiment of these by Emily and Dora, leaving behind the purified, middle-class domestic ideal that is finally represented by Agnes. (149-150)

Fraiman and Poovey both read this fiction as the story of a maturing hero. While Fraiman quotes Poovey to support her claim that *David Copperfield* represents the development of the bourgeois male, elsewhere she seems to disagree with Poovey on a significant point. Viewing *David Copperfield* as a typical male Bildungsroman, Fraiman claims that David is portrayed as a subject of self-advancement, while women play only marginal roles in his narrative. This corresponds with Poovey's argument that David's striving to find a substitute for his mother is finished when he marries Agnes, the incarnation of perfect womanhood; while the representations of Clara Peggotty, Emily, Annie, and Dora signify the remaining chance of threat to the home, Agnes offers him a sense of security and completion by bringing him "the dowry of her middle-class virtue and efficient housekeeping skills" (Poovey 99). Yet Poovey also notes that the autobiographical narrative of a professional writer is countered by another narrative, inasmuch as David acknowledges Agnes's influence on the formation of his own identity and presents Agnes's image as both the center and the circle of his life (100). In other words, even though Dickens attempts to inscribe this narrative as a story of a male hero's

self-creation, in fact a woman's influence plays an important role throughout the whole narrative of development.

Just like a traditional traveler/adventurer figure, David "returns" from his final journey at the end of his narrative. Even though this journey scene is where readers can notice the tropes of a travel story as a male Bildungsroman most easily, it offers a different ending. After Dora dies David travels to foreign places, wandering as if he is driven by a restless spirit that aspires to see the vast world. The scene in which he goes to the Alps and finds "sublimity and wonder in the dread heights and precipices, in the roaring torrents, and the wastes of ice and snow" (785) makes him resemble a romantic hero who attempts to find his own identity by challenging human limits.[22] Just before finishing the journey narrative, David concludes that he has improved himself through the journey: "For a long time, though studying and working patiently, I had accustomed myself to robust exercise. My health, severely impaired when I left England, was quite restored. I had seen much. I had been in many countries, and I hope I had improved my store of knowledge" (787). This statement echoes the dominant notion that one can acquire masculinity through traveling the outside world.

However, David mentions his feeling for Agnes after this moment, confessing that there is "one reservation" that is omitted from the recollection of that period (788).

[22] As Mark Rothery and Henry French note in *Making Men: The formation of Elite Male Identities in England, c. 1660-1900* (2012), travel was considered to play a key role in the development of masculinity during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Particularly, it was believed that young gentlemen come to reach adult life through their traveling experiences (86). Quoting Chloe Chard, Rothery and French discuss the "Romantic ideals" of travel which were "meant to be a transformative process, in which the traveller was changed by new experiences, sensations and sites" (86-87). David's final journey seems to represent these Romantic ideals in that he describes how his traveling experiences have contributed to his inner transformation; however, as I am about to argue, the narrative immediately destabilizes this point.

While he suggests that this part is only an additional part of the travel narrative, the ensuing chapters make us doubt that what he sees and experiences on his journey to the foreign places really helps him to grow up into a man. It seems that David does not become a man because of what he acquires on the journey, but instead, he is able to finish his journey to manhood by returning to the home that is kept by Agnes.[23] Zelma Catalan rightly observes that the ending in which David praises Agnes and his married life with her provides the whole plot movement with a logical conclusion. Contending that *David Copperfield* ends with a "sacralization of the domestic" (176), Catalan explains that Agnes's figure as a woman "pointing upward" allows David to complete his journey at the end. According to Catalan, while David has no capacity to recover domesticity through horizontal movement, Agnes's presence helps to complete his journey by turning domestic space into a sacred domain: "Agnes's first appearance from her room upstairs and her later emblematic posture with her finger pointing upwards, the physical and ontological space undergoes a restructuring along the vertical dimension" (17). David ends the whole story, narrating that Agnes's face is "shining on [him] like a Heavenly light by which [he] see[s] all other objects, is above and beyond them all" (845), and thereby making any further movement unnecessary.

If the novel recasts the domestic novel as a male genre, as Rena-Dozier puts it, I suggest that at the same time it recasts the male Bildungsroman as a female genre. While

[23] Pam Morris notes that the first sentence of *David Copperfield* presents tension between two modes of narratives: "Whether I shall turn out to be the hero of my own life, or whether that station will be held by anybody else, these pages must show." On the one hand, David is identifying himself as "a willed intention of self-creation as hero" (66), but on the other hand, he expresses doubt that he was the subject of his own creation. The phrase "Whether I shall turn out" suggests that he might have played a passive role in the shaping of his self while some external force helps to shape him (66).

Fraiman contrasts this fiction with the female Bildungsroman which confines its heroine's development to the domestic sphere and the marriage plot, I argue that David's narrative is home-oriented just like the stories of the heroines. That his quest for manhood ends along with his marriage with Agnes makes his story similar to the female Bildungsroman, which ends with the heroine choosing a husband.

A Child's Make-Believe Play

In addition to the problem of homecoming, *David Copperfield* addresses that of homemaking, in that David and other male characters continuously struggle to build homes. While Dickens presents boy characters' anxiety over being banished from domesticity, it is also true that he praises the domestic ideal that is encapsulated in a bounded home space. According to Thad Logan, Dickens's characters attempt to create their own settings by collecting household objects with which they furnish and decorate their place of residence; their desire to create a "cozy" space highlights the desire to create a "perfect fit between the self and the world" (212). Significantly, the making of a home is associated not only with class identity but also with male development. We can see that David, Traddles, Micawber, and Steerforth all occupy domestic interiors, aspiring to decorate them according to social decorum and often inviting others to their own place.

Significantly, in the scene in which David looks into Aunt Betsey's house for the first time, the house evokes the image of a dollhouse that is perfectly furnished and decorated. Citing Vivien Greene, Lois Rostow Kuznets contends that the act of looking

into a dollhouse betrays the human "longing to be small enough to return to the womb" (119).[24] This is in concert with Brown's remark that Dickens built a building that looked like a doll's house in his garden. According to Brown, Dickens was attracted to snug corners and small spaces just like his juvenile characters: "Like David Copperfield, who delights in the snug bed within a closet within his mother's room or the tiny bed he occupies at the Peggottys, Dickens himself was drawn to the coziness of the smaller space within the larger. He erected a chalet in the garden of Gad's Hill that resembled a doll's house and enjoyed staying in snug quarters abroad" (61). It is well known that Dickens once took over the building of one of his sons' toy theater. Mentioning this episode in *Dickens and the Parent-Child Relationship* (1984), Arthur A. Adrian comments that Dickens tended to dominate his children's play too much:

> Sometimes Dickens was so carried away by his childlike enthusiasm that he took over completely a project originally intended for one of this sons. Such was the case when he and the artist Clarkson Stanfield set up a toy theater, a specimen of Drury Lane, that had been bought for Charley. So fascinated were the two men by this project that the boy could only look on as they painted, cut, and gummed. (279)

[24] In *English Dolls' Houses of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (1955), Greene associates the dollhouse with the nostalgia for the lost childhood: "[The dollhouse] is the old human dream of being small enough, Thumbelina on the lily leaf, Alice outside the passage leading to the garden. Now we are standing in the room in half-light; it is furnished strangely and enormously, the door handle is set very low down and does not turn, the stairs are steep and narrow, fierce red foil glitters in the back grate and the vast cups and dishes are painted with roses" (23). Greene's depiction of the dollhouse interior and of its domestic objects reminds us of the scene in which David describes what he sees through the window of Aunt Betsey's cottage. That he is treated like an infant after entering Aunt Betsey's house also stresses its dollhouse-like quality.

According to Adrian, though Dickens was a kind father, he was able to empathize with his children only in their early years, and sometimes he seemed to try to "recapture through them his lost years," that is, his own childhood (290), through entertaining them and dominating their play.

Taking the author's fascination with children's play as a departure, this section will examine how *David Copperfield* associates homemaking with male desire to be reconnected to domesticity and childhood rather than with pursuit of domestic authority, and how the motif of the toy theater and doll play offer us a glimpse into the ways in which homemaking subverts the myth of male self-advancement. In the novel the representation of homemaking complicates both the picture of the ideal home and men's position within the home. Male characters' development is determined not by their capacity to create a home space but by their relationships with women, and the process in which David complicates the concept of home betrays his remaining desire to return to childhood.

In "Paper Dreams and Romantic Projections: The Nineteenth-Century Toy Theater, Boyhood and Aesthetic Play" (2008), Liz Farr views the nineteenth-century toy theater as a miniature world that allows middle-class boys—particularly schoolboys who return to home for vacations—to forget about the pressures about entering the adult world. Borrowing the words of John Oxenford, a Victorian man who recalls how he had made his toy theaters in childhood, Farr remarks that normally a boy who just began to perceive himself as a young gentleman played the most crucial role in the productions of toy theater: "The young ladies of the family might assist with their scissors or their

camel's hair pencil, and the children might gape, as the growing wonder matured to perfection before their eyes; but in a well-regulated household the manager and proprietor was always a boy, beginning to think himself as a man" (Farr 46). What fascinates schoolboys about the toy theater is the fact that they can create a whole new world by furnishing the stage with pasting and assembling and by placing small dolls, or "characters," on it.

Schoolboys' production of toy theaters illuminates a dilemma that lies at the core of the discourse over the formation of middle-class masculinity. On the one hand, a boy who thinks that he is ready to enter the male world builds a toy theater, and the creation of his own miniature world is believed to offer him a chance to experience empowerment and liberation, as well as cultivating an adventurous spirit inside him. The fact that many toy theaters represent adventure stories about pirates, villains, and imperial heroes suggests that the ideals of masculinity were projected onto their constructions. On the other hand, as Farr puts it, the toy theater offers a schoolboy a "private, if impotent, world of reverie that could not be accessed either through the social spaces of the playground, or through later professional life" (56). That the toy theater represents a "world of reverie" makes it doubtable that the building of the toy theater reflects boys' eagerness to go out to the vast world that they are supposed to enter after education. In this respect, the building of the toy theater might be connected to dreams about recovering connection with one's childhood home rather than to yearnings about advancing oneself in the wider world.

Many scholars have discussed how nineteenth-century children's play both affirmed and subverted gender and class norms. Like the construct of the toy theater, doll play had an ambivalent role in gender shaping. Scholars have demonstrated that nineteenth-century doll play did not always confine girls to domestic sphere. Miriam Formanek-Brunell points out that in the middle-class American antebellum household, girls' doll play did not always aimed at conforming girls to roles as mothers and wives. According to her, in *The American Woman's Home* (1869) Catharine Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe emphasize how girls are trained to be useful, industrious, and caring through doll-making and doll play (8); they are expected to develop emotional bonds with their dolls and to develop sewing skills by making their own doll and miniature domestic objects such as pillow, bedspread, and curtains. In other words, it was believed that doll play helped to confine girls to domestic sphere. As Formanek-Brunell writes: "Making dolls, nurturing the family, and taking care of the household duties constituted a girl's informal apprenticeship for being a wife and mother" (10). At the same time, however, she points out that boys also played with dolls, treating them with tenderness, and that girls' doll play often unsettled the margins of gender norms; female doll players often expressed aggression instead of behaving submissively and genteelly (28-30). Similarly, in *When Toys Come Alive: Narratives of Animation, Metamorphosis, and Development* (1994), Kuznets examines the Victorian notions of middle-class domesticity through the toy characters in literature. It is true that toys contributed to gender modeling; boys were encouraged to play adventures with toy soldiers, while girls were expected to practice the mother's role while playing with the

doll, an object of nurturing. Yet Kuznets points out that gender distinctions were sometimes blurred, as Formanek-Brunell does. Citing Ruth and Larry Freeman, Kuznets notes that girls played not just with baby dolls but also with dolls that looked adult (*When Toys Come Alive* 16), adding that boys sometimes developed nurturing feelings towards stuffed animals.

More importantly, in "Taking Over the Doll House: Domestic Desire and Nostalgia in Toy Narratives" (1999), Kuznets attempts to associate the notion of the Angel in the House with the dollhouse image. Acknowledging that Nora's famous escape from a dollhouse-like middle-class home still has significance in feminist theories, Kuznets writes that her study of the dollhouse enabled her to investigate "woman's place" less simplistically ("Doll House" 145). As she remarks in *When Toys Come Alive*, Beatrix Potter's *A Tale of Two Bad Mice* (1904) portrays a dollhouse as a prisonlike space that embodies the conventions and values of the bourgeois home; "stiff dollhouse creatures" and "their beautiful but fake food" mirror "all that is bourgeois, repressive, and (to use a contemporary term) plastic in society" (120). In contrast, the dollhouse is associated with nostalgic feelings towards an idyllic past in Frances Hodgson Burnett's *Racketty-Packetty House* (1906), which portrays romantic adventures about living dolls, fairies, and small animals in the dollhouse setting. While the dollhouse mirrors middle-class women's confinement to the domestic sphere, in *David Copperfield* it embodies both middle-class men's exile from home and their effort to recover domesticity through make-believe plays. In a sense, David comes to build a dollhouse during his quest for an ideal home. While the household that he builds with Dora has characteristics of a

dollhouse, this act of homemaking not only makes Dora arrested in childhood, but it also makes David feel like staying in his own childhood. As I will argue, his leaving the dollhouse for his final home with Agnes permanently separates him from domesticity by making him quit the make-believe play.

As stated earlier, David sometimes projects his own self-image onto Robinson Crusoe. It is important to note that he and Crusoe are doubles not just in terms of travel but also in terms of homemaking. Both *David Copperfield* and *Robinson Crusoe* interlink the problem of middle-class masculinity with domesticity, but there is a significant difference both in the aims of their journeys and in their definitions of masculinity. According to Brown, Crusoe's island fortress is the first bourgeois interior in English fiction. The middle-class home functions as a medium through which bourgeois ideology expresses itself; the domestic interior of the Victorian middle class mirrors the ways in which middle-class people identify themselves and relate to their society, reflecting bourgeois values such as security, coziness, and privacy (13). While Crusoe runs away from home in spite of his father's attempts to detain him, ironically he becomes attached to reproducing middle-class domestic ideals after arriving at his island. We can see that his home on the island resembles the middle-class home in many ways:

> Many other aspects of Crusoe's domestic fortress set the stage for later images of the bourgeois home: the home as fortress, first of all; the strong association between the home and private property, the role of the domestic arts in the home, which Virginia Woolf may have been the first to observe;

> the place of the servant who lives within but sleeps apart from the family (Friday's bed is made up outside of Crusoe's cave, just as, later in history when domestic technology replaced servants, labor-saving devices would be hidden from view); the problematic role of the family in the individualist psychology of the capitalist (Crusoe keeps pets, but could we ever imagine him with a family?); the place of the second home as refuge from the first; [25] and, not unrelated to the latter phenomenon, the bourgeois home as the expression of a desire to reclaim a prior condition of stability or contentment. The list goes on. (Brown 26)

The elements of middle-class domesticity that are listed above are associated with the construction of the home space and with the organization of the household objects, which are presented in *David Copperfield* as well. As Brown notes in the passage above, however, it is hard to imagine Crusoe with a family. Although Crusoe creates a new home space in a foreign island, family and marriage life are not included in his new home, and more importantly, he goes out to sea again, leaving his home and wife behind, to continue his adventures in the vast world.

In contrast, David Copperfield does not feel at home even at the moments when he secures his own space to turn into a home. He feels like Crusoe once more when he

[25] Noting that Crusoe begins to call his cave 'home' after creating a second home or "The Country-House," Brown argues that "to feel homelike, or to be experienced subjectively as safely familiar, a dwelling must be objectified as a haven to which one must return." In other words, the idealization of home causes nostalgia for the absent home, which is characteristic of the Victorian middle class (Brown 30). In attempting to find a bridge between *Robinson Crusoe* and Dickens's fictions, Brown claims that a similar kind of anxiety over the absent home appears in the latter.

becomes a lodger in London, this time not as a lonely traveler but as an owner of private space: "It was a wonderfully fine thing to have that lofty castle to myself, and to feel, when I shut my outer door, like Robinson Crusoe, when he had got into his fortification, and pulled his ladder up after him" (341). However, unlike Crusoe, soon he experiences an incurable sense of homelessness instead of a sense of security, missing somebody to talk to and being "tormented by [his] own youthfulness as ever" (342). That he associates his sense of homelessness with youthfulness implies that he cannot acquire maturity just by securing a safe place and furnishing it by himself.

Again like Crusoe, David and Traddles, both bachelors and young lodgers, seek to furnish and decorate their place. When David meets Traddles again in London, Traddles is expecting to marry Sophie though they have to delay marriage for financial reasons. Much as Crusoe fills his home with numerous household objects and then proudly makes a list of them, Traddles lists both the objects that he already has and those that he is planning to purchase for his future home. Importantly, here he is not creating a fantasy home for himself but building a kind of ideal stage for his married life with Sophie:

> "However," he said, "it's not that we haven't made a beginning towards housekeeping. No, no; we have begun. We must get on by degrees, but we have begun. Here," drawing the cloth off with great pride and care, "are two pieces of furniture to commence with. This flowerpot and stand she bought herself. You put that in a parlour window," said Traddles, falling a little back from it to survey it with the greater admiration, "with a plant in it, and−and

> there you are! This little round table with the marble top (it's two feet ten in circumference), I bought. You want to lay a book down, you know, or somebody comes to see you or your wife, and wants a place to stand a cup of tea upon, and−and there you are again!" said Traddles. "It's an admirable piece of workmanship−firm as a rock!" (389)

After listing the household objects that he is proud of, Traddles adds that his place still needs to be equipped with objects such as tablecloths, pillowcases, candleboxes, gridirons, "and that sort of necessaries" (390). Here he emphasizes the utility of these objects, but in fact they are more desirable as a way of conforming to the rules of home decoration than as conveniences to be utilized. This scene illustrates that in the Victorian period there were many rules for home decoration and that not all had logic or utility behind them (Calder 113).

Nevertheless, neither David the narrator nor Dickens denies that this kind of homemaking is necessary for middle-class home life. When David returns from his journey to other European countries, what signify Traddles and Sophie's married life are the household objects such as a flowerpot and stand, at which Traddles nods with pride. The making of their home is not finished at this point, and both Traddles and David know that there is still a way to go until Traddles earns more household objects such as teaspoons: "'And as to plate, Lord bless you, we haven't so much as a teaspoon.' 'All to be earned?' said I cheerfully" (796). Yet it is clear that Traddles now has an anchor at this home.

The process in which David advances towards a married life shows readers the way in which this fiction complicates the concept of home. Starting with a fantasized image of home and marriage, David makes his dream of a home more and more specific, like a boy who is building a toy theater by making its basic structure with a cardboard box and then adding more and more decorations. In the beginning, his idea of home is a mere childish fantasy. When recalling Clara Peggotty and Barkis's wedding day, he also recalls how he dreamed about marrying little Emily. Young David and Emily accompany Peggotty and Barkis on their honeymoon, though they believe at the time that it is just an ordinary "holiday excursion" (140). Not knowing what this trip means to the two adults' lives, David gets innocent pleasure from it, while imagining Emily and himself as a bride and a bridegroom. While Peggotty and Barkis are supposed to settle as a married couple in their own cottage after the short trip, in David's imagination the married life of himself and little Emily is a never-ending journey that rejects any kind of settlement:

> What happiness (I thought) if we were married, and were going away anywhere to live among the trees and in the fields, never growing older, never growing wiser, children ever, rambling hand in hand through sunshine and among flowery meadows, laying down our heads on moss at night, in a sweet sleep of purity and peace, and buried by the birds when we are dead! (141)

This passage shows that there is no domesticity in a conventional sense in the young David's imagination of married life. The image of a boy and a girl who wander

innocently in nature evokes the narrative convention of "babes in the wood," the traditional children's tale that portrays innocent and powerless children−brother and sister−who enter dangerous situation without adult care.[26]

On the other hand, this image of wandering children also makes them look like two nomads who reject the Victorian middle-class domestic ideals. Interestingly enough, in this scene David narrates that Emily and he "made a cloak of an old wrapper, and sat under it for the rest of the journey" (141). That they build a temporary roof above their heads reminds readers of the pre-marriage custom of Plains Indians, in which a young couple use a courting blanket as a mini-home before they move into a tepee. Although it is not certain whether Dickens had knowledge of this custom or not, he was interested in Native American culture, particularly in their nomadic way of life. According to Kate Flint, Victorians associated the Native American with Romantic ideals of the noble savage. Flint notes that Dickens had great interest in Native American culture and that he expressed sympathy toward their dispossession. He not only visited the 1839 Native American show and saw a collection of artifacts that George Catlin brought to London, but he also mentioned Native Americans in a letter when he visited America in 1842, imagining how they used to be among trees while "sleeping in their *blankets*, cleaning their arms, nursing brown children, and so forth" (my italics 96). At the same time, however, he remarked that the Native American's degraded state led to dispossession:

[26] Later Aunt Betsey directly uses the phrase "a pair of babes in the wood" in the description of the young couple−David and Dora. This is a reference to the story of *Babes in the Wood*, in which a brother and sister who are orphaned and then abandoned by their uncle wander in the woods and then die there as friendless. This reference implies that David and Dora's home life is not much different from the fantasy home of young David and little Emily and that they come to build sexless domesticity just like the brother and sister of the *Babes in the Wood* tale.

"They are a fine people, but degraded and broken down. If you could see any of their men and women on a race-course in England, you would not know them from gipsies" (97). From this statement we can see that Dickens associated nomadic life with the Native Americans and that he had contradictory views on such a life; on the one hand, he seems to project his own nostalgia for innocent childhood onto the Native Americans by imagining them as wanderers who refuse to settle, while on the other hand, he notes that such a lifestyle would cause dispossession and marginalization. In this respect, that David Copperfield's fantasy about marriage to Emily consists of images both of babes in the wood and of nomadic people has some significance; though young David dreams of a marriage life without social/domestic boundaries, as a dispossessed child he comes to realize that he should seek to build a class-bound space around him, his life journey teaching him to discard this idea and to seek settlement and domesticity.

As David becomes aware of class distinctions and as the idea of home becomes more concrete for him, it becomes clear that his fantasy about marriage to working-class Emily cannot fulfill his needs and that the object of his nostalgia is a specifically middle-class home. Borrowing Fraiman's term, the next "milestone" that he turns toward is middle-class Dora Spenlow. Pointing out that Dora is a daughter of his superior at Doctors' Commons, Vanden Bossche argues that David's love for her is closely associated with his pursuit of middle-class status: "David's determination to fall in love with [Mr. Spenlow's] daughter before he has ever met her indicates that he desires the social legitimacy of gentility as much as Dora's charms" and that Dora's charms, such as "flirtatiousness, silliness, guitar playing, even curls," signify her class identity (92). We

can see that David associates the image of the "lovely garden" of Mr. Spenlow's house with Dora, as if the garden space that marks middle-class domesticity itself is what attracts her to him.[27]

Although David succeeds in marrying Dora, he fails to find a final home with her. Just as a schoolboy needs an adult female's help in building a toy theater, in this fiction women play essential roles in the building of the home. Instead of developing himself into an ideal homemaker, David continues to refine the idea of an ideal married life and an ideal homemaker, a wife.[28] Because Dora has no capacity to create a comfortable home for him, she cannot function for him as a permanent "stopping point" (Poovey 115).[29] Logan claims that in Victorian novels the representation of domestic interiors reflects characters' psychological state. According to Logan, Dora's inability to create a comfortable home highlights a defect of her character, causing Dora and David's married life to be deficient in some ways: "In his marriage with Dora, as in his perception of his own being, 'there is always something wanting,' and this wanting is

[27] Malcome Andrews points out that Emily is presented as a child of nature, in contrast to Dora, her "hothouse-reared successor" (142). We can see that Emily inhabits natural landscapes such as woods and seashore while Dora sits in a garden, a space that is more artificial compared to woods and seashore. The contrast between the wild nature and the garden highlights that David comes to complicate his idea of home through dreaming of a marriage with Dora.

[28] Interestingly, when David returns to England what welcomes the weary traveler is Traddles and Sophie's home. To reach their home he should first pass through "a crazy old staircase" that is dark and dusty, stumble and fall down; after "groping [his] way more carefully for the rest of the journey" (792) in darkness he finally finds the door with Traddles's name painted on it, and then enters the happy home, the place of laughter and brightness. It can be said that Traddles and Sophie's home shows David a preview of the final home that he will find at the end. That Sophie is another natural-born homemaker who is always tidy and cheerful signifies that only an ideal wife can bring an end to a man's journey and that David should find such an one to quit his own journey.

[29] Poovey argues that the representation of woman as a mother/wife functions as "the stopping point for desire" for boys and men: "Because her domestic authority −indeed, her self-realization−depended on her ability to regulate her own desire, the faithful woman as wife anchored her husband's desire along with her own, giving it an object as she gave him a home" (115). Although David once calls Dora an "anchor" for him, he soon realizes that she cannot perform that role.

embodied in the scarcity of domestic comforts" (208). Furthermore, though Dickens's representation of Dora signifies middle-class identities, more specifically it signifies middle-class girlhood. In the scene in which David finds her in the garden, it seems as if she is sitting in the garden of Eden:

> I suppose that when I saw Dora in the garden, and pretended not to see her, and rode past the house pretending to be anxiously looking for it, I committed two small fooleries which other young gentlemen in my circumstance might have committed, because they came so very natural to me. But, oh! when I did find the house, and did dismount at the garden gate, and drag those stony-hearted boots across the lawn to Dora sitting on a garden seat under a lilac tree, what a spectacle she was upon that beautiful morning, among the butterflies, in a white chip bonnet and a dress of celestial blue! (462)

While Dora and the lovely garden that she sits in create a "spectacle" for David as in a framed picture, her image is associated both with class identity and with childhood. As Claudia Nelson notes, the "arrested child-woman" (*Precocious* 71) in Victorian fiction is associated with childhood as luxury and privilege. Being sheltered or arrested as a child-woman within the garden that represents middle-class daughterhood, the period of leisure and security (Nelson, *Precocious* 71), Dora stands still in a frozen piece of childhood, and by entering the garden David enters his own vision of romanticized childhood. Since time also stands still in this world, the time he spends with her feels

like an "unsubstantial, happy, foolish time" (470), which separates both him and Dora from the passage of time.

David's portrait of her is associated with the features of a little girl, or a doll whose unchangeability represents perpetual childhood. Notably, in her representation the word "little" is repeatedly used just as in the description of his little room in the boathouse: "She had the most delightful *little* voice, the gayest *little* laugh, the pleasantest and most fascinating *little* ways, that ever led a lost youth into hopeless slavery. She was rather *diminutive* altogether" (my italics 375).[30] In fact, David is attempting to remain a boy himself by marrying "little" Dora, though he does not know what his decision means at the time. When he first enters his and Dora's house, he feels that he is not the real master of the house and that they are waiting for the real master to come home; observing household objects such as "the guitar case quite at home on its heels in a corner" (606), he cannot feel at home, as if he is a boy who is temporarily occupying a man's house.

This sense of displacement lasts after David and Dora come back from their honeymoon because they fail to build a middle-class home. It quickly becomes clear that Dora can never grow up; even though she tries to be a homemaker, polishing the tablets and buying an account book, she remains a child-wife. Not only is she a "pretty toy or plaything" and a "pet child" (580) for both him and Miss Lavinia, but she is also

[30] Examining the nineteenth-century dollhouse plays in cultural context, Nancy Wei-Chen points out that the idea of littleness was associated with girls in nineteenth century England. "Little girls" were "viewed as beings of diminutive stature placed in a designated, 'restricted' sphere" (285). Chen quotes Frances Armstrong's claim that many of Dickens' female characters are portrayed like dolls or children who are little and that their very littleness makes them men's object of desire (285).

contented to be. As Vanden Bossche notes, David gives her a cookbook, which was a popular purchase among the Victorian middle classes, but she fails to learn how to do household management (97). That the keys and the cookery book that he gives her become playthings for Jip suggests that she remains a child (Vanden Bossche 99). [31]

Significantly, David and Dora's house plays the role of a play-house not just for Dora but also for David. As Nelson puts it, their marriage is "a nostalgia-based marriage in which both participants can be children" (*Precocious* 73). Although David narrates that he tried to act both as a mature husband and as a surrogate father to the friendless Dora, by teaching her how to manage the household and by making important decisions by himself, he also confesses that he himself remained a "boyish husband" (622). In his recollection of his first marriage David describes Dora as a child playing at keeping a dollhouse, narrating how she became happy playing with all the "make-belief of housekeeping" and "merry as if [they] had been keeping a baby-house for a joke" (624) as he gave up expectations of her functioning as a mature wife. However, despite his half-sympathetic and half-condescending tone, Dora is not the only player of this make-believe play; it is not only Dora playing at keeping a house, but David turning himself into a child playing with Dora the doll. For instance, the scene in which they invite

[31] There are a lot of signs that serve warnings on the failure of David's first marriage though he fails to understand them. Aunt Betsey quite straightforwardly warns him, calling him and Dora "a pair of babes in the wood" (615). She actually treats him like a boy who is excited with a pretty new toy when she asks him "And you mean to say the little thing is very fascinating, I suppose?" (483). In fact, David seems to be the last one who learns their marriage is wrong from the beginning. Noting that Jip knows Dora's character, capacities, and needs, Kattie M. Basnett argues that Jip's showing his teeth to him at their first encounter and his finding the wedding cake "disagreeable" signifies that their marriage is disagreeable as much as it (73). Jip's chewing the pencil case that David buys for Dora also highlights the infeasibility of his effort to turn her into a homemaker (Basnett 73). Even Dora discerns it before him, telling him that "it would have been better, if [they] had only loved each other as a boy and girl, and forgotten it" (739).

Traddles to dinner at home illuminates the play-like qualities of their home life. When David and Traddles fail to open the oysters Dora buys for the dinner and then pretend to get pleasure by just looking at them, they become players of a make-believe play.[32] David also willingly participates in the play when Dora makes tea for him and Traddles: "it was so pretty to see her do, as if she was busying herself with a set of doll's tea things, that [he] was not particular about the quality of the beverage" (619). Thus, even though Clara Peggotty furnishes and decorates David and Dora's house according to the rules of the middle classes, its inhabitants turn it into a dollhouse that imitates a real home. In this sense, their home is not much different from the mini-home that David imagines in his childhood, except that it is shaped like a Victorian middle-class home. As David and Dora both admit in the end, a husband who marries a child-wife cannot acquire manhood, and Dora "must die so that her man can grow to fulfill adulthood" (Nelson, *Precocious* 72), or in other words, so that her man can outgrow childish play.

[32] In *Peter and Wendy* (1911) make-believe play scenes appear several times. Although the never-ending qualities of their make-believe play help to idealize perpetual childhood, the scene in which the lost boys build a little house for Wendy and play at housekeeping signifies that they will end up leaving Neverland and eventually become adults. By playing mother and teaching the lost boys domestic rules, Wendy who has internalized Victorian ideals of domesticity prepares them for growing into middle-class men. While playing at housekeeping, the boys sometimes sense the difference between make-believe and reality, and that they have to make-believe that they had dinners trouble them while for Peter Pan there is no difference between make-believe and reality:

> You never exactly new whether there would be a real meal or just a make-believe, it all depended upon Peter's whim: he could eat, really eat, if it was part of a game, but he could not stodge just to feel stodgy, which is what most children like better than anything else; the next best thing being to talk about it. Make-believe was so real to him that during a meal of it you could see him getting rounder. (Barrie 69)

Just like the lost boys and Peter Pan, David and Traddles make-believe that they were satisfied with the dinner and the tea. Unlike Peter Pan, however, David is aware that make-believe cannot be the same as true. This explains why he struggles to build a true middle-class home, not being contented with the dollhouse that he inhabits.

Here it is important to note that Dora is not the only child-wife in this fiction. According to Robert M. Polhemus, Dickens's faith in the purity of a child−particularly that of a girl−leads him to create numerous child-wife figures, that is, fusions of girl and wife that guard domestic space from the corruption of the outside world (5).[33] In analyzing the female characters of *David Copperfield*, Polhemus points out that there are two different definitions of the term child-wife in this fiction; "sometimes [the term] means that the wife is like a child in demeanor, sometimes it means that she is like a wife-mother to her child-like mate" (5). Dora and Agnes, David's first and second wives, both have the traits of child-wives, but the difference in their married lives highlights that only the child-wife of the second definition can be a true angel in the house. Unlike Dora, Agnes Wickfield is depicted as the merger of a girl and a woman from the beginning who has functioned as a homemaker since childhood. Agnes is "fixed in stained-glass attitudes" (McCarthy 28) in David's eyes from the day that he first sees her, and it is the very fixedness and unchangeability that make her an ideal wife for him.

[33] David A. Ellison notes that middle-class women were expected to remove homes from the corruptions of marketplace and to impose stability to homes by arranging, cleaning, and polishing the commodities that were produced in the market (90). According to Ellison, the portraits of mobile homes in Dickens's fictions indicate that he is well aware that homes cannot be separated from the mobilities/instabilities of the outside world. Noting how in *Dombey and Son* bankruptcy makes Dombey's possessions "spring into movement" (108), Ellison argues that Dickens raises questions about the idea of the house as a haven: "[T]hese objects are released from the walls that would normally contain them, setting the scene for a conclusion that unfolds in a weakly spatialized and inconclusively sheltered realm. In recognizing the paradoxical restlessness of the things that fill the interior, Dickens questions the capacity of angels to hold the house together in a space where new forms of sexual and technological shock reverberate" (Ellison 108). I agree that some of his fictions record the moment when the home fails to work as a haven and that at such moment he "questions the capacity of angels to hold the house together in a space where new forms of sexual and technological shock reverberate" (Ellison 108). However, I argue that at least in *David Copperfield* he expresses his faith in the angel's capacity through Agnes's representation, even though he later comes to lose such faith.

As Martin A. Danahay notes, the idea of women's natural domesticity was prevalent in the Victorian period. Focusing on Esther Summerson's identity as a homemaker, Danahay argues that in *Bleak House* Dickens portrays Esther as a natural housekeeper and protector of children who instinctively knows how to make a home (419-420). Danahay adds that Agnes of *David Copperfield* is also born with middle-class virtue and housekeeping skills (421). If the capacity to make a middle-class home is something to be born with, then it is not surprising that Dora fails to acquire it by training. Since Dora is a child-wife who cannot grow up and Agnes is a girl-woman who does not need to grow up, they seem to signify the two extremes of the middle-class Victorian woman. However, their representations and the roles they perform in David's maturation illuminate that they occupy different sides of the same coin: the gendered notion of development. That both Dora and Agnes do not grow up implies that middle-class femininity was not considered something to be acquired and cultivated and that there is no progressive narrative regarding middle-class womanhood. Ironically, women's unchangeability helps to measure out male development. Quoting Nina Auerbach's argument that Agnes is an "unmoved mover, pointing others upward though static herself," Catherine J. Golden emphasizes that Agnes is portrayed as unchanging and immobile (7). By leaving Dora, a stopping point that represents childhood, and moving to Agnes, David seeks to advance himself from childhood to manhood; while the marriage to Dora prevents him from maturing by trapping him in a perpetual childhood, the marriage to Agnes, a perfect fusion of child and adult, is able to move David to the end of the quest for middle-class home and manhood.

Significantly, when Dora has a premonition of her own early death and confesses her failure to make her husband a mature man, her words illuminate the flaws of the myth of male self-advancement. Although she blames herself for her own unsuitability for wifehood, confessing that "if I had been more fit to be married, I might have made you more so, too" (739), it also suggests that male development is determined by a man's choice of a wife, or more specifically, by the question of whether a wife is mature or not. That the acquisition of masculinity is conditional on female maturity reveals unresolved tensions remaining in male-centered narrative of development as well as unsettling the myth of a man's self-development.

More significantly, it is doubtable if middle-class manhood really allows one to recover one's ties with domestic sphere. In "A Visitor," the second last chapter, David celebrates Agnes, his second wife, as a home-maker and a queen who creates and maintains an Edenic garden (Vanden Bossche 101). Yet it is easy to discern that his description of the final home lacks enthusiasm, as well as being dry, vague, and abstract. Not only the representation of his married life but also that of the space he and his family inhabit consist of empty clichés such as hearth and playing children: "I had advanced in fame and fortune; my domestic joy was perfect; I had been married ten happy years. Agnes and I were sitting by the fire, in our house in London, one night in spring, and three of our children were playing in the room, when I was told that a stranger wished to see me" (834). As Alan Barr rightly observes, not only David the narrator but Dickens is also "reserved in enthusiasm" in this chapter (60). Neither David nor Dickens seem to have anything to do about the home that the queen-angel of the house makes and keeps;

there is no detailed description of the domestic interior, as if Dickens himself stands back from descriptions of the setting, one of the most distinctive features of his fictions.

After comparing and contrasting the representations of the homes that David visits and inhabits, Barr concludes that in *David Copperfield* "[t]here are neither safe havens nor safe conducts" (64) and that no home is presented as flawless, being either "inadequate, besieged, chaotic, or, in the case of David and Agnes's, etherealized beyond earthly warmth and passion" (66). Although I agree that no home is represented as perfect in this fiction, I want to go further than just arguing that all the homes are disappointing. Interestingly enough, in contrast to David and Agnes's home, David and Dora's home is represented in great detail and with sincere amusement. Although the old David claims that he was constantly dissatisfied with his married life with Dora, he may be hiding the fact that where he could truly feel at home was the dollhouse in which he can remain as a child.

Absent or Mad

In reading *David Copperfield* as the story of a child who "survives his childhood and becomes a man" (135), Andrews argues that it is the novel that "most strikingly dramatises the issues of how far childhood may be regarded as a virtue or a defect" (135). Then Andrews insightfully notes that Dickens removed a passage that might have disturbed the pace of the Bildungsroman narrative with its ambivalence of feeling and then instead inserts a passage that has a calm introspective tone.[34] Pointing out that in the

[34] Below is the passage that Andrews notes as failing to survive into the published version:

removed passage David weighs gains and losses that his own passage to manhood has caused him, instead of celebrating his own growth to maturity, Andrews contends that Dickens himself had an ambivalent attitude towards the development of the child into the adult; Dickens does not repudiate adulthood itself, but he is nonetheless skeptical that the idea of normal male adulthood developing in the Victorian period is compatible with domesticity (68). Just as David feels attraction for the making of the dollhouse but tries to outgrow his own "childish" impulse, Dickens seems to suffer from a dilemma that the coexistence of the child self and the adult self produces in him.

That David and Dickens are both attracted by the world of childhood does not indicate that they wish to stop growing. Calling Dickens a "child of 'larger growth' among his children," Adrian points out that in an 1853 essay for *Household Words*, "Where We Stopped Growing," Dickens expresses a sense of half-elegiac regret about the prospect of growing up (290). In analyzing the same essay, "Where We Stopped Growing," Andrews notes that Dickens's attitude towards the loss of childhood is differentiated from Barrie's "absolute resistance to maturity" (57) presented in his Peter Pan plays. Unlike Barrie, Dickens admits that resistance to maturity may bring about negative consequences: "At the end of the essay, Dickens appears to be wholeheartedly committed to the principle of preserving ourselves from growing up. However, the opening paragraph is emphatic about the human damage likely to result from any serious attempt to operate that principle" (Andrews 61). By tracing a middle-class boy's growth

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> For all I this I know that I was in my heart so innocent and pure, so earnest, so impassioned and so true, that while I laugh, I mourn a little; and while I think of the discretion I have gained since then, I remember with a touch of sorrow, what I have lost. (149)

to maturity and then calling it as the "favorite child," Dickens attempts to distance himself from his own child self. At the same time, David's failure to feel at home at the ideal middle-class home after becoming a man highlights Dickens's remaining doubt about the virtue of adult masculinity.

I argue that in *David Copperfield* the incompatibility between normal male adulthood and domesticity is presented through David's remaining homeless; though he claims that he completed his journey to home, it seems that he cannot "feel at home" at the home that embodies the ideals of Victorian domesticity. In the novel, unresolved tensions in the Victorian cult of masculinity become more explicit because the idea of "home"−the final destination of the whole journey and the object of constant nostalgia−is hard to define. As Barr points out, David's becoming naked and nameless after first being accepted into Aunt Betsey's cottage signifies that he acquires a new home and a new identity at Dover (57). He seems to experience a kind of rebirth in this scene, "lying stiffly on the sofa" (184) like a helpless and innocent infant, which enables him to feel a sense of at-homeness once more. However, just setting foot in domestic space does not guarantee the recovery of the home. Although David desires to recover home, it always means more than just building a house or securing a private place.

Importantly, not only the middle-class boys but also the dead middle-class father is presented as a lonely traveler. Recalling the night he was born and his aunt left him and his mother, David imagines other newborns as travelers who wander into the outside world during the night: "I lay in my basket, and my mother lay in her bed, but Betsey Trotwood Copperfield was for ever in the land of dreams and shadows, the tremendous

region whence I had so lately travelled; and the light upon the window of our room shone out upon the earthly bourne of all such travellers, and the mound above the ashes and the dust that once was he, without whom I had never been" (12). In this imagination he identifies himself as a traveler who has just arrived home and his dead father as a traveler who has no shelter. Similarly, being conscious of the presence of his father's gravestone outside the home, he imagines that his dead father is being constantly excluded from the domestic circle in which he himself shares a sense of snugness and security with his mother and Peggotty: "I used to feel for [the grave] lying out alone there in the dark night, when our little parlour was warm and bright with fire and candle, and the doors of our house were−almost cruelly, it seemed to me sometimes−bolted and locked against it" (2). In David's imagination his father is banished from the middle-class domestic ideal, which is symbolized by the warmth and brightness of the hearth. His compassion for his dead father who is condemned to eternal exile indicates that he is anxious about the possibility that he too might be banished from the domestic circle.

David's anxiety about homeless men is the expression of unresolved contradictions in men's position within the Victorian domestic ideology. Drawing on a nineteenth-century pamphlet titled *How Men Are Made* (1859), Tosh claims that masculinity was regarded as something that boys must strive to acquire; according to the Victorian gender discourse, boys never grow into men naturally, but must achieve masculinity with effort (111). According to Tosh, it was believed that the key attribute of manliness was independence and that a man could function as the protector and master of the home only after acquiring independence (111). To acquire independence, middle-

class boys were often forced to leave home early in their lives. In this sense, we can say that Victorian middle-class boys' homelessness helps propel them along the passage to manhood. Simultaneously, however, Tosh acknowledges that Victorian men were detached from home even after building their own homes. On the one hand, it was believed that a Victorian man was able to assure himself of his position as a "home-maker" (Tosh 18) by playing the role of a husband and father. On the other hand, because the Victorian cult of the home associates home fundamentally with women and childhood (Tosh 5) and mothers played a key role particularly in children's moral education, home was considered to be women's sphere. The man who accepted the tenets of Victorian domestic ideology could not deny that his wife could affect children much more profoundly than he, and he might feel detached from other family members even though he was physically in the same space with them.

David sometimes calls his own journey a "solitary pilgrimage" (306) and himself a lonely traveler who has no guidance. Victorian father is often portrayed as either absent or tyrannical in many nineteenth-century texts (Tosh 95). It is interesting to note that *David Copperfield* presents both these negative types of fatherhood−David has an absent father who is soon replaced by a tyrannical stepfather. Moreover, David is not the only one who senses the absence of the father; Steerforth, the Salem House boy who proves himself irresponsible and therefore immature, seems to suffer from the same problem. Steerforth once expresses a sense of guilt and frustration; in identifying himself with a "bad boy" in a nursery tale who goes astray and then gets punished, he says, "I tell you, my good fellow, once more, that it would have been well for me (and for more than

me) if I had had a steadfast and judicious father!" (309). This comment does not indicate that David and Steerforth simply happen to have no father who would introduce them into manhood. Rather, it suggests that the normal adult men cannot truly return home even after acquiring adult masculinity and therefore they cannot be a guide to home for their sons.

Since there are no normal adult men within domesticity, David has no role model who can offer him guidance during his quest for home. As Nelson puts it, Mr. Murdstone who is overly confident about adult masculinity is a home-destroyer (*Precocious* 48); Mr. Wickfield at first seems like an ideal adult man at home, but later it becomes clear that he cannot be a role model either, as he becomes another home-destroyer due to his mental weakness; Mr. Peggotty may represent male domesticity, but he cannot be a guide for David's quest for middle-class masculinity because he is a working-class father figure.

If the normal adult men are absent at home, then the alternative would be becoming a child-man. In this fiction there are many child-man characters such as Mr. Dick, Micawber, and Steerforth. While David finds them preferable to men like Murdstone, they cannot function as role models for him, either (Nelson, *Precocious* 49). For instance, Micawber looks like an adult but he has many boyish qualities. Dickens portrays Micawber as a "stoutish, middle-aged person" (149) who is dressed as a perfect gentleman, but in fact he is a boyish man who has no capacity to complete his journey to middle-class manhood. It is important to note that he identifies himself as a perpetual traveler/boy who refuses to settle. Interestingly, he treats David as an equal despite their

age gap when he is invited to dinner at David's place, by recalling the days when he and David were both youngsters who struggled to find a way into men's world: '"Then I will drink,' said Mr. Micawber, 'if my friend Copperfield will permit me to take that social liberty, to the days when my friend Copperfield and myself were younger, and fought our way in the world side by side. . .'" (400).[35] Furthermore, in the penultimate chapter, David receives a final letter from him, and in it he identifies both David and himself as permanent wanderers/travelers, as if he ignores the fact that David is now settled in London as a father, a husband, and a successful writer. Steerforth, another child-man, is presented as another boyish wanderer, though in different ways. Not only does he lack earnestness, which was considered the most important component of adult masculinity for Victorian middle classes (Andrews 162), but he literally fails to survive into adulthood; by drowning he fails to complete his journey to manhood. It is worthy noting that his image as a schoolboy overlaps his dead body when David sees him "lying with his head upon his arm, as [he] had often seen him lie at school" (767). Through these child-men characters Dickens suggests that child-men who stop growing are not what David wants to become.[36]

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[35] Kincaid argues that the representation of the Micawbers undermines the idea of a linear progress which David claims his story to be. According to Kincaid, "[t]he Micawbers neither advance nor decline; they refuse to acknowledge the pressures of time, of linear or discontinuous narratives, of cyclic movement or of stasis" (109), and David can be both an equal or a friend and a child to them (109). I agree that Dickens's representation of Micawber helps to unsettle the boundary between a boy and a man as well as unsettling the concept of male development as a linear order.

[36] According to Franco Moretti, David's wishing to remember Steerforth as a harmless boy highlights his desire to erase the past by choosing to remember only his uncorrupted state. Calling the English Bildungsroman the novel of preservation, Moretti argues that this impulse to remember Steerforth as unaltered implies that in the English narrative "what has been learned will be disavowed and forgotten" (183). Although I agree that David tries to remember Steerforth's better days when witnessing his tragic end, I don't think that it aims at disavowing what has been learned with experience. Rather, by recollecting

As Andrews and Nelson both observe, the childlike Mr. Dick is presented as the only male character who helps to preserve home. Mr. Dick is able to perform the role of child and playfellow to young David, and he is also a full part of Aunt Betsey's house. Here it is noteworthy that Mr. Dick is not the only madman that occupies domestic space in the novel. When David revisits the old family home, he realizes that it is now occupied by a "poor lunatic gentleman and the people who took care of him" (307). In attempting to look through the eyes of the gentleman who is "always sitting at [his] little window" (307), he feels both sympathy for him and fear for his own future. While his father's tombstone reminds him of the possibility that he might be excluded from domestic space, the image of the madman that is arrested within the window frame causes anxiety about his own future position within domestic sphere. Thus, it can be said that the anxiety over men's position in home space is expressed through the image of the lunatic man in the house.

Unlike the madwoman in *Jane Eyre*, who is arrested in the house but not known to be in it, Mr. Dick receives considerable respect and credit, and the lunatic gentleman is not isolated in the attic. However, though both Mr. Dick and the lunatic man sitting at the window are both presented as occupying domesticity, they cannot solve tensions within the Victorian discourse over male domesticity since they are unable to perform the normal adult man's domestic role. That the only male character who is fully within domesticity is a madman highlights that David Copperfield remains homeless till the

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both Steerforth's schooldays and his tragic end, David the narrator makes it clear that Steerforth fails to complete his journey to manhood, unlike himself and Traddles who succeed in reaching their destination, home.

end, failing to discover a way back to home. While the madwoman in the attic is endowed with subversive force despite her immobility, at the end of the novel the David who comes to occupy a central position in his own household is captured in the everlasting exile from home after finishing his quest for middle-class manhood.

CHAPTER III

HOMESICKNESS IN/FOR SCHOOL: DOMESTICITY AND BOYHOOD IN PUBLIC SCHOOL NARRATIVES

> I had been happier at Rugby than I can find words to say. As I looked back at five years, I seemed to see every hour golden and radiant, and always increasing in beauty as I grew more conscious; and I could not (and cannot) hope for or even imagine such happiness elsewhere.
> −Rupert Brooke, *The Collected Poems, with a memoir by Edward Marsh*

As mentioned in the previous chapter, when David Copperfield is sent away to a boarding school named Salem House, he identifies with a traveler who just started an unwanted pilgrimage. In the scene in which he passes through a village on his way to the school, he becomes conscious of his own status as an outsider, imagining the insides of the houses as well as the home life of the boys running after his coach. When he thinks about running away, what makes him give up that prospect is the thought that he has neither home to return to nor a place where he can earn his bread: "If I started off at once, and tried to walk back home, how could I ever find my way, how could I ever hope to walk so far, how could I make sure of any one but Peggotty, even if I got back? If I found out the nearest proper authorities, and offered myself to go for a soldier, or a sailor, I was such a little fellow that it was most likely they wouldn't take me in" (Dickens 70). David's self-identification as a homeless traveler illuminates the state of mind of many Victorian public schoolboys before starting their school life. In *David Copperfield* becoming a sailor or a soldier is presented as a mere child's fancy, but in narratives more focused upon school, such prospects often serve to warn boys against deviating from the standard passage to manhood.

While David Copperfield imagines Salem House as a prison with "black doors" (Dickens 71) and a jailor-like master, the public schools are represented in a wide variety of ways in the literary tradition of Victorian fiction. In *Happiest Days: The Public Schools in English Fiction* (1988), Jeffrey Richards observes that the public school has evoked controversial feelings among those who attended it; some people portray it as a boys' paradise, while others remember it as a prison (7). Despite this variety, as scholars such as John R. Reed, Dominic Hibberd, Henry R. Harrington, Maureen M. Martin, and Claudia Nelson point out, it is undeniable that in Victorian society the public school was viewed as a portal to middle-class manhood. Once they left their childhood homes for schools, boys had to endure being temporarily homeless until they finished their pilgrimage to middle-class manhood and found a legitimate place in society. However, in the fictions that will be the focus of this chapter, it is questionable whether the schoolboys really escape homelessness through acquiring maturity.

In many Victorian boys' school stories, cultivating manliness is presented as schoolboys' most important aim. Assuming that nineteenth- and early twentieth-century British school stories address questions about growing up, this chapter investigates the relationship between a schoolboy's transition to manhood and the expansion of the empire, with a particular focus on the boy's changing relationship with home. While scholars talking about British school stories have discussed the problems of physical/spiritual/intellectual development, no one has paid full attention to the problem of how a schoolboy's growing up parallels the shift in his relations to his home and his nation.

The first part of this chapter explores how middle-class domesticity affects male development in F. W. Farrar's *Eric, or Little by Little* (1858) and Thomas Hughes's *Tom Brown's Schooldays* (1857)−the two most popular and influential public school stories of the mid-nineteenth century. One of my central arguments is that a schoolboy's relation to home works as a key signifier of development in both these novels. Focusing on the problem of homelessness/at-homeness at school, I will discuss the implication of the fact that at the end of the two stories Eric Williams returns to his point of departure, his childhood home, while Tom Brown begins a new journey to the wide world instead of returning home. *Eric* and *Tom Brown* present two different perspectives on the public school as a site for development. *Eric* describes a schoolboy who fails to finish his journey to manhood; for him school is a site where he cannot escape a constant sense of displacement and homelessness. Naming *Eric* "a non-heroic anti-adventure story, in which the most desirable outcome for the protagonist is to return to the lost Eden of childhood" (92), Jenny Holt notes that through its melodramatic plot and excessive tragedy Farrar presents his own pessimistic view of male development through institutional education. By contrast, Hughes portrays the public school as an ideal place for the boy's self-development. As I will argue in this chapter, Tom, who "feels at home" at the public school, successfully grows physically, mentally, and spiritually, and domesticity is not outside the school but is presented as a part of the school lesson that serves to facilitate a boy's development, which eventually contributes to the expansion of the empire.

Focusing on the motif of Old Boys' homecoming to school, the second half of this chapter examines how in *Tom Brown* and *Eric* the idea of Old Boys is related to the cultural belief in an enduring boyhood and how the concept of Old Boys betrays unresolved tensions in the dominant idea of male development and empire building. As Reed notes, schoolboys were expected not only to grow up individually through character building but also to form a bond both with the school community and with the nation during their schooldays. According to Reed, many public school narratives exhibit how the Old Boys' spirit functions as the "unifying focus" for empire building:

> Public school education became the fundamental identification of the gentleman. The new elite was united less by family than by the common interests and assumptions promoted by their public schools. School connections were considered more important for those who sought to wield power than was a university education. More, political power was chiefly in the hands of public school products, business was more and more dominated by them, and the Empire was served by them. The public school character was highly valued as a unifying focus for the Indian Civil Service and the army overseas. (60)

In other words, a schoolboy's transition from boyhood to manhood is concerned not only with his individual development into a member of an elite but also with the formation of a national character.[37] It is important to note that the ending scenes of many public

[37] Gareth Cordery also maintains that stories set in public schools share "a belief in the building of character through physical hardship (which is anti-intellectual), militarism, a 'manliness' that fears and degrades femininity, a belief in custom and tradition, and an earnest sincerity in all that one does" (104).

school narratives depict how the main characters have become mature men, sometimes also mentioning how they have become engaged with imperial business. In the final chapters of influential school narratives by writers such as Farrar and Hughes, the Old Boys become homesick for the school that they used to attend as schoolboys, remembering or talking about the lives of their old schoolmates who were sent away to various corners of the Empire. While the Old Boys attempt to affirm the idea of enduring male bond by perceiving themselves a part of the school, they also betray a sense of loss and separation.

In the third and final part of this chapter, I will demonstrate that both the notion of enduring boyhood and the imperial discourse have been critiqued by those who inherited the conventions of the genre. Not only Old Boys' semi-autobiographical records such as Arnold Lunn's *The Harrovians* (1914) but also Rudyard Kipling's *fin de siècle* school story *Stalky & Co.* (1899), which has sometimes been read as a counterexample to more standard instances of the genre, contain endings similar to those of more traditional school narratives, either representing or parodying the idea of enduring boyhood. As I will be suggesting, the gap between the homecoming scenes of earlier school narratives and those of later works illuminates the ideological crisis concerning empire building; that the later public school narratives do not associate the school with the feeling of homesickness highlights that the school was not perceived as a place that offers a permanent sense of fixity.

Similarly, arguing that in *Tom Brown* masculinity is presented as "essentially a social condition" (16), Henry R. Harrington claims that for Hughes masculinity was something that must be cultivated "to protect the weak, to subdue the earth, to fight for our homes and country, if necessary" (16).

Homesickness in the School[38]*

In the introduction to the Oxford World Classics edition of *Tom Brown,* Andrew Sanders notes that *Tom Brown* is the story of an average boy who becomes a Victorian hero due to his growth to maturity. As the title of the novel implies, the narrative traces how a boy leaves his home to become a schoolboy and how he develops during his schooldays. At the beginning of the novel the narrator explains how deeply the Brown family is rooted in the history of England, and then describes the country village where Tom spends his boyhood. While he gets transplanted from the country village to the public school, he is presented as a pupil who feels at home either inside or outside school and who continues to advance to male maturity throughout the novel. As George J. Worth points out, *Tom Brown,* one of the most famous and influential public school narratives, portrays how a boy with excessive energy and boyish character is regulated and refined through disciplines. At the beginning of the novel Tom looks like a little animal that cannot stand being confined indoors. While staying at Rugby, however, he develops "spiritually, intellectually, and morally," and at the end of the novel he goes up to Oxford as a mature man with a social conscience (Worth 304). [39]

[38] *Reprinted with permission from "Escaping Institutionality: Rebellion and Gendered Space in *Eric, or Little by Little* and *A Little Princess*" by Soyoun Kim, *Barnboken: Journal of Children's Literature Research* 37 (2014): 1-15. Copyright 2014 by Soyoun Kim.

[39] As Worth notes, Tom Brown embodies the ideal of "muscular Christianity." The phrase "muscular Christianity" appeared for the first time in Charles Kingsley's novel *Two Years Ago* (1857) and it reappeared in the reviews of *Tom Brown,* which was published two months after Kingsley's novel (302-303). Being concerned that the term might cause readers to misunderstand the fundamental message of his novel, in *Tom Brown at Oxford* (1861) Hughes differentiates "muscular Christians" from "musclemen"; for Hughes the muscular Christian is someone who is driven by the values of "the old chivalrous and Christian belief" (Worth 308).

Hughes's narrator often states his belief that boys should outgrow their boyishness to become responsible adults. In contrast to the Romantic notion of childhood, nineteenth-century public school education was based on the assumption that boys must be reformed to become mature men (Reed 63). Noting that Tom Brown has animal vitality when he leaves his home, Harrington maintains that the concept of manliness was associated with "sociality" in nineteenth-century England:

> The word manliness has a venerable history in English literature, but underlying all of its modern meanings is the common theme of sociality. When [Samuel Taylor] Coleridge originally appended to the title, *Aids to Reflection*, the phrase in *Formation of a Manly Character* (1825), "manly" seemed to denote a quality based on man's ability to reflect on "a higher good" that would distinguish him from animals. (15)

Harrington accepts Coleridge's definition of manliness as a quality that can be achieved only "at the expense of the moral irresponsibility of the juvenile" (15). That is, not only are masculine ideals such as strength, courage, and self-control cultivated within social conditions, but they are cultivated for sake of social goods. This suggests that (as contemporary gender theorists such as Judith Butler contend) the concept of manliness has been socially constructed and that schoolboys were expected to internalize the ideals of self-advancement through institutional education. As I will demonstrate, *Tom Brown*

affirms the prevalent Victorian vision of the public school as the ideal place for development, a notion that considers masculinity something that must be cultivated.[40]

Noticing the elements of Bildungsroman in *Tom Brown*, Holt observes that this novel represents the idea of "consistent, linear growth," and that "even [Tom's] bad deeds and rebellions are learning experiences which help him to progress" (88). Tom sometimes seems to depart from his passage to manhood while staying at Rugby. Inasmuch as he soon becomes unmanageable and breaks school rules too often, he loses a "character for steadiness" (Hughes 166); he repeatedly goes fishing in the restricted area by the river, ending up being shamed by getting caught in a tree by the keeper and then being scolded by the Doctor. However, at the end of the story it becomes evident that even those moments of deviation have driven him to manhood, as he grows into an ideal product of Doctor Arnold's educational system. Furthermore, Holt asserts that Hughes seeks to prepare young readers for entering public sphere by providing them with both positive and negative examples through their fictional model's career. Observing how Tom and other Rugby boys succeed or fail to build both their school career and their social conscience as citizens at school, readers were expected to prepare their own roles in adult life (Holt 2). In this sense, we can say that *Tom Brown*'s Rugby serves to facilitate "Bildung" of both its protagonist and its readers.

[40] Many scholars have commented on the ways in which English male elites were developed through schooling. For example, see *Making Men: The Formation of Elite Male Identities in England, c. 1660-1900: A Sourcebook* (2012), edited by Mark Rothery and Henry French. This book includes letters that schoolboys exchanged with family; these letters reveal that parents expected their boys to develop character through their separation from home and family (37).

Notably, both Hughes's Rugby and Farrar's Roslyn are predicated on the concept of linear progress. Sanders notes that Rugby headmaster Thomas Arnold was seeking ways to hasten a boy's growth into a man: "As his biographer, A. P. Stanley, emphasizes, Arnold caught at every means of challenging his boys and of allowing them to work out their own destinies; one of the chief questions on which his mind was constantly at work was 'can the change from childhood to manhood be hastened, without prematurely exhausting the faculties of body and mind?'" (xiv). Hughes seems to share Arnold's view of linear development. In his novel, Squire Brown, Tom's father, decides to send his son to Rugby as early as possible, believing that "loitering about home" is nothing but a waste of time (Hughes 68), and Tom himself is eager to become like older boys while he is a boy at Rugby School. That he joins a school race called "Big-side Hare-and-hounds," which is normally restricted to older boys, highlights that he is impatient over any delay in his development.

Unlike Tom, who becomes an ideal product of the public school education, Eric Williams of *Eric* does not grow up. Rather, as the title of the novel implies, Eric gets degraded or erased little by little. As Nelson notes, post-Darwinian science viewed children and criminals as primitive and undeveloped (*Precocious* 58). In other words, to be regarded as equal with adults, children had to "evolve." By stubbornly remaining "little" despite the education and discipline he receives at school, Eric makes Farrar's readers question the very idea of evolution or linear development that is stressed in the traditional school narratives. Being classified as "fourth-form" or "fifth-form," Roslyn boys are expected to act according to their forms, and those who do not meet

expectations are despised by others as dropouts. This is why in *Eric* the friendship between Eric and Wildney, a younger student at Roslyn, is described as accelerating Eric's degradation. While his friends abandon boyishness as they become upperclassmen, Eric remains the same, refusing to evolve. The problem of remaining the same is stressed when he escapes the school at night to drink with Wildney and his friends; when he attempts to get through a broken window, following Wildney, his grown body makes it difficult for him to get through, and the narrator notes, "Eric followed with some little difficulty, for the aperture would only just admit his passage" (103). Additionally, it is noteworthy that Eric alone feels "disgust and shame" in the pub when Wildney and his friends sing a song together "heartily and uproariously" (111). That only Eric feels guilty and senses something sinister about his situation in this scene suggests that he is aware that retreating or maintaining his present state is a form of unruliness that will lead to distressing consequences.

Although *Eric* is mainly set in a public school, it does not follow the convention of typical school stories, which follow *Tom Brown*'s line. Importantly, the protagonist of *Eric* ends up leaving his school after having derived no benefit from the institutional education. Considering that Farrar seeks to offer constructive ideas of improving adolescent education in his other stories (Holt 100), his pessimistic view endows *Eric* with an exceptional position both in Farrar's career and in the tradition of school stories. This may be the reason why Dieter Petzold differentiates *Eric* from stories such as *Tom Brown* and *Stalky & Co.* Petzold claims that while *Stalky & Co.* has been generally considered a departure from the conventions of the school stories, it confirms such

conventions, in that both Hughes and Kipling view the public school as "the only institution that can achieve the feat of reconciling the two opposed principles, of teaching acceptance of authority and leadership without destroying the child's vitality and spontaneity" (20). By contrast, as Petzold asserts, *Eric* neither celebrates the public school as the place for socialization nor proposes a method to improve the institution; rather, it presents a pessimistic view of education, making it the true outlier among these texts (17). However, the most important point here is that *Eric* not only criticizes the public school system, but on a deeper level, also addresses anxieties that surround schoolboys as they grow up.

What makes *Eric* depart from mainstream school narratives is that the schoolboy's sense of homelessness is emphasized as something insuperable. Like David Copperfield, Eric Williams yearns to recover domesticity, but unlike David he fails to find a new home. It is noteworthy that Farrar gives Eric outsider status by portraying him as an Anglo-Indian child who leaves India to be raised and educated in Britain. His foreign birthplace again implies that *Eric* occupies an unusual position within the tradition of the nineteenth-century school story. The loss of home is, first, presented through the fading vision of India in *Eric*. The narrator comments,

> Very soon he forgot all about India; it only hung like a distant golden haze on the horizon of his memory. When asked if he remembered it, he would say thoughtfully, that in dreams and at some other times, he saw a little boy, with long curly hair, running about in a flower-garden, near a great river, in a place where the air was very bright. (Farrar 3)

Though India is both the place where he was born and the present home of his parents, it is blurred and romanticized with idyllic images. This suggests that for Eric his home in India is a place to which he can never come back except in dreams or visions.

Eric can never be reconnected to his past, just as he can never return to his home. His aunt's cottage in Fairholm, where he spends his childhood, serves as a new home for him until he goes to the school. At the beginning of the novel the narrator describes this cottage as pastorally idyllic: "Fairholm cottage, where his aunt lived, was situated in the beautiful Vale of Ayrton, and a clear stream ran through the valley at the bottom of Mrs. Trevor's orchard. Eric loved this stream, and was always happy as he roamed by its side, or over the low green hills and scattered dingles which lent unusual loveliness to every winding of its waters" (Farrar 3). We can also see that the scene in which he plays in his aunt's garden indicates his innocent childhood. [41] In the first chapter, right after Eric expresses joy about the prospect of entering school soon, his cousin Fanny grieves for his forthcoming loss of childhood when hearing his "clear, ringing, silver laughter" (Farrar 2) through the open window as he continues his games in the garden.

While *Eric* emphasizes the schoolboy's sense of homelessness from its beginning, the protagonist of *Tom Brown* does not feel homeless or displaced either inside or outside school. Tom is born in a country village as a member of a family that has been involved in English history for a long time. The narrator notes that the Browns

[41] As Adrienne E. Gavin and Andrew F. Humphries argue, "gardens offer freedom and adventure to children" (7), as well as representing the innocence of childhood. Simultaneously, the image of the Garden of Eden indicates "an absolute line of division between childhood and adulthood" by indicating a stage of life (Robson 8).

have contributed to national issues including imperial enterprise: "For centuries, in their quiet, dogged, home-spun way, they have been subduing the earth in most English countries, and leaving their mark in American forests and Australian uplands. Wherever the fleets and armies of England have won renown, there stalwart sons of the Browns have done yeomen's work" (Hughes 2). This comment suggests that while the Browns were sent to many corners of the Empire like Eric's father, the civilian in India, Hughes's narrator does not impose any sense of homelessness and displacement on the Brown family.[42]

It is also worthy to note that Hughes's Tom has no idealized notion of a childhood home. While Eric's childhood is closely associated with the image of his aunt's garden, a domesticated place, Tom does not spend much time in domestic space, but wanders around his village like a little wild animal. Even before he leaves home he spends most of his time outside, getting along with the village boys and the village "old boys" (Hughes 24) such as Noah and Benjy, as if the village itself is a kind of school for him. Considering that Tom starts a "war of independence" against girls and women at

[42] Still, the narrator of *Tom Brown* expresses contradictory feelings towards empire building, and further, towards the problem of homeless men. On the one hand, the narrator describes Tom's home village, as a secluded place. Young Tom imagines himself leaving the village and going to an unknown place, wanting to "accept the oft-proffered invitation of these syrens to 'Young Master,' to come in and have a ride" (Hughes 19). Throughout the novel, the boy's desire to enter the wider world is praised as a good thing. On the other hand, the narrator also criticizes that his nation has turned into a "vagabond nation," lamenting that he himself is now a vagabond who has "been away from home less than five distinct times in the last year" (Hughes 19). As I will argue later in this chapter, this contradictory feeling that lies under the ideology of male self-advancement and nation-building echoes the problem of homelessness, which is presented in *Eric*.

the age of four and then chooses the elderly man Benjy as his male "dry nurse" (Hughes 23, 26), it is not surprising that he has no difficulty in adjusting to the school life.[43]

Similarly, in the scene in which Tom's father sends him to Rugby, it becomes apparent that Tom does not feel sorry for leaving his home early in his life. Rather, at that moment Tom realizes that "his one absorbing aim" is to "become a public school-boy as fast as possible" (71), and this realization makes unbearable to him the idea of spending six hours at the inn that is located on his way to the school. We can see that he instantly feels at home when he first arrives at Rugby:

> Tom's heart beat quick as he passed the great school field or close, with its noble elms, in which several games at football were going on, and tried to take in at once the long line of grey buildings, beginning with the chapel, and ending with the School-house, the residence of the head-master, where the great flag was lazily waving from the highest round tower. And he began already to be proud of being a Rugby boy, as he passed the school-gates, with the oriel-window above, and saw the boys standing there, looking as if

[43] In focusing on the issue of male anxiety and on the concept of "muscular Christianity," Donald E. Hall claims that *Tom Brown* reflects male anxiety over female influence. That Benjy's cottage is decorated with pistols and swords indicates that it is a place that vanquishes female influence:

> [Benjy's] cottage, where Tom spends his days, is armed against imminent attack; he has decorated it with pistols and swords, making it not only a fortress but also a shrine to a particularly martial form of masculinity. The identity of the potential attacker becomes clear when Benjy and the narrator express vague fears about what will happen if "Master Tom should fall back again into the hands of Charity and the women" (Hall 331).

Inasmuch as Tom also goes to a school space from which women are barred, it can be said that Tom always occupies male-exclusive space. If the country village is his first school, for him Rugby is the "second school," "which is portrayed as a womanless, male 'Paradise' where boys can revel in seeming autonomy and completeness" (Hall 333).

> the town belonged to them, and nodding in a familiar manner to the coach man, as if one of them would be quite equal to getting on the box, and working the team down street as well as he. (89)

Not only does he feel a sense of belonging to the school at his first day, but it also seems that he finds his true "home" there. When a boy named East shows Tom the study that he shares with another boy, Tom is ecstatic that he is "about to become the joint owner of a similar home, the first place he could call his own" (94). This implies that the public school offers him a feeling of at-homeness instead of cutting him off from his home.[44]

In addition to finding the study a true home, Tom finds a place in the playing field on his first day at Rugby. When East gives him a tour of the school, they see bigger boys coming out for a rugby match, and Tom cannot hide his eagerness to join the match, "catching East by the arm and longing to feel one of them" (Hughes 100). By joining the match Tom can demonstrate that he has become a part of the school body. As many scholars have noted, in public school stories games are associated with the ideals that a public school aims to cultivate in a schoolboy. Quoting J. E. C. Welldon, a Harrow headmaster and the author of *Recollections and Reflections* (1915), J. A. Mangan points out that in Harrow school songs the vocabularies of games are frequently used (325) and that in those songs the vocabularies of games make a parallel between the playing-field

[44] In *Stalky & Co.* Stalky, Beetle and M'Turk own Number Five study, which becomes a private space for the three boys. Both Tom Brown's study and the three boys' study belong to the school space, but while in *Tom Brown* inhabiting a study indicates a sense of belonging to the school community, in *Stalky & Co.* it indicates the three boys' distinctness. In addition to Number Five study they inhabit a private hut in "In Ambush," the first chapter of the novel. Just like the study, the hut signifies their refusal to conform, but it offers them more freedom than the study in that it is located outside school boundaries. Neither a school space nor a domestic space, the hut helps them to deviate from the established passage toward manhood.

and life (328). In quoting "Tom," the Harrow song written by Edward Bowen, Mangan also notes that Bowen supports the ideal of athleticism by presenting the athletic boy Tom as a hero (328). Also, according to Cordery, rugby was associated with the values of comradeship, conformity, and earnestness in the Victorian period, and in the public schools the playing fields were considered "training grounds" where students learned the values such as honor and duty: "Only in the match itself is true character tested and revealed and an important part of this character is to be able to withstand physical pain and put one's body at risk" (100).

It is true that Tom gets accepted into the school community by demonstrating his capacity to endure pain in the match. However, at the same time, character training is not limited to the playing field; we can see that he learns the value of patience by enduring physical pain during his journey to school. In this light, I suggest that not only the motif of game-playing but also that of journeying helps to support the ideology of empire expansion through celebrating boys who advance with inexhaustible energy, first from home to school, then from school to larger world.

Although the image of the sea and sailing appears both in *Eric* and *Tom Brown*, it plays a different role in the two stories. While staying in the school, Eric's eyes constantly head toward his lost home, and the sea is presented as a wall that isolates him from it. His school, Roslyn, is literally located on an island named the Isle of Roslyn, like Farrar's own school, which was located on the Isle of Man. The island setting stresses the distance between the spaces of home and school. Since Eric was born in India and India is now his parents' home, at the beginning of the story the image of the

sea alludes to the existence of his home somewhere beyond it. Yet it soon becomes clear that the sea does not function as a passage that leads him to his home. Interestingly, in the scene in which he crosses the water to reach Roslyn, he seems to repeat the experience of losing his home that he went through when leaving India at the age of four. In watching the beautiful sea and imagining his "voyage" across the water, he gets excited with "the sensation of sailing over it with only a few planks between him and the deep waters" (Farrar 7), but the place that lies beyond the water turns out to be not a home but a place of exile for him. At the moments he feels exceptionally unhappy at school the image of the sea intensifies his frustration by reminding him of the fact that he cannot return to his home. Eric and his schoolmate Russell become like brothers, and Mrs. Williams offers motherly love to Russell, but such a "familial framework" (Stoneley 82) is dismissed as Eric's parents leave England. Envisioning his parents, who are "far away in their lonely Indian home" (Farrar 42), Eric finds that the distance between the school and his home increases his loneliness. Accordingly, that he can see the sea from any point in the school stresses the insurmountable distance between school and home.

By contrast, in *Tom Brown* the sea is not a wall between him and his childhood home but symbolizes the passage to the male world. It is important to note that in this novel the vocabulary of sailing is used both in school songs and in the homecoming scene. On Tom's first night at Rugby old and new boys get together at the School-house hall and begin singing school songs filled with images of sailing: "The glasses and mugs are filled, and then the fugle-man strikes up the old sea-song–'A wet sheet and a flowing

sea, / And a wind that follows fast," &c.' which is the invariable first song in the School-house, and all the seventy voices join in, not mindful of harmony, but bent on noise, which they attain decidedly, but the general effect isn't bad" (Hughes 120). Then the narrator mentions how that night the boys keep singing old sea song such as "Billy Taylor." That these boys celebrate the beginning of new boys' school life with sea-songs indicates that they identify themselves as sailors.

The vocabulary of sailing reappears in the scene in which Tom and other new boys return home after their first term at Rugby. Comparing their journey back home to the end of sailors' voyages, the narrator states that "[t]here is a special Providence over schoolboys as well as sailors" (Hughes 159). In *Eric* and *Tom Brown* we can find a distinction in the ways the two schoolboys' homecoming is presented. Although Eric does feel some sense of homecoming after entering school, those moments also make him feel a sense of loss more keenly by reminding him of the bitter truth that he has lost his home. When he returns to his aunt's home during the holidays, he feels detached from the home circle though it has not changed after he left it: "[a]nd yet over all his happiness hung a sense of change and half melancholy; they were not changed, but he was changed" (Farrar 93). This description shows that he belongs to the home space no more once he enters the school and that he is disconnected from his own childhood forever. In contrast, Tom returns home triumphantly, bursting with careless rapture:

> But the boy's intense joy at getting home, and the wonderful health he is in, and the good character he brings, and the brave stories he tells of Rugby, its doings and delights, soon mollify the Squire, and three happier people didn't

> sit down to dinner that day in England (it is the boy's first dinner at six o'clock at home, great promotion already), than the Squire and his wife and Tom Brown, at the end of his first half-year at Rugby. (Hughes 160)

In the quoted passage Tom resembles heroes of male adventure stories; a traveler returns from a journey at the end, reunites with his people happily, tells them stories of the things that happened during the journey, and then leaves home again. Importantly, the narrator does not describe how Tom spends his first vacation at home but instead leads readers back to his school life right after the brief homecoming scene. For Tom home is a place to which he returns only temporarily. Like Robinson Crusoe, who repeatedly leaves home to go to sea, in *Tom Brown* the schoolboy has no "anchor" in home space; he is not homesick for his lost home because for him it is nothing more than a place where he recharges his energy to continue his journey to the larger world.[45]

Although Tom feels at home while occupying the school, the notion of idealized domesticity plays a crucial role in his growing up. In *Eric* middle-class domesticity is excluded from the school space, and the disconnection from the home makes Eric quit his journey to manhood. In *Tom Brown*, however, the idealized home is presented as a

[45] According to Louis James, late Victorian boys' journals such as *Boys of England* inherit the features of the mid- Victorian school stories such as *Tom Brown*. Noting that the main readership of *Boys of England* consisted of lower-middle-class boys with middle-class aspirations (90), James states that not only Hughes's school story but also *Robinson Crusoe* influenced the late Victorian children's literature that served to promote both imperialism and Victorian capitalism. James argues that like *Robinson Crusoe*, the later school stories confirm "mercantile colonialism" (97). Although here James does not directly address the similarity between *Tom Brown* and *Robinson Crusoe*, it is true that in *Tom Brown* Hughes compares schoolboys to travelers more than once. I'm not suggesting that *Tom Brown* shares "mercantile colonialism" with the late Victorian boys' school stories, but I will later argue that Hughes's comparison between schoolboys and sailors illuminates how the public school system contributed to the imperial project.

reward that a schoolboy is taught to pursue. Showing glimpses of an idealized home to schoolboys, Hughes's Rugby encourages them to seek for middle-class manhood. It is important to note that the Doctor has his home within the school, which is separated from the rest of the school space as a sacred place. In his first term Tom joins the game of Hare-and-hounds, drops out and gets lost, and then comes back to the school with dirt on his jacket. When the weary young travelers—Tom, East and Tadpole—reach the Doctor's library door they catch a glimpse of an idealized vision of middle-class home as in a dream:

> "That's the library door," said East in a whisper, pushing Tom forwards. The sound of merry voices and laughter came from within, and his first hesitating knock was unanswered. But at the second, the Doctor's voice said, "Come in," and Tom turned the handle, and he, with the others behind him, sidled into the room.
>
> The Doctor looked up from his task; he was working away with a great chisel at the bottom of a boy's sailing boat, the lines of which he was no doubt fashioning on the model of one of Nicias' galleys. Round him stood three or four children; the candles burnt brightly on a large table at the further end, covered with books and papers, and a great fire threw a ruddy glow over the rest of the room. All looked so kindly, and homely, and comfortable, that the boys took heart in a moment, and Tom advanced from behind the shelter of the great sofa. (Hughes 155)

In this scene the Doctor's domestic interior looks closer to a tableau representing happy domestic life than to a real place, much like the scene in which David Copperfield is seated by the hearth, surrounded by his children and a saintly wife. That the boys who get lost during the school race are introduced into this scene suggests that the school displays the image of an idealized home as a reward that boys might achieve after completing their journeys to middle-class manhood.[46]

While a boy at Rugby, Tom learns to seek a legitimate place in his future home. Noting that Tom's relationship with George Arthur enables Tom to acquire a form of true manliness that she identifies as androgynous, Nelson maintains that their relationship has a more significant impact on Tom's development than on Arthur's: "The friendship between the two boys may have saved Arthur's life by encouraging him to strengthen his body, but more importantly, it has saved Tom's soul and raised the tone of the Rugby community in general by teaching the androgyny of true manliness" ("Sex" 538). My concern here, however, is not to determine whether Tom or Arthur is more affected by their friendship, but to suggest that it affects each boy's development in a profound way.

As Hall writes, Hughes portrays Rugby as a place from which all womanliness is eliminated (333), but ironically, the school also teaches boys how to desire idealized femininity. The moment when Tom redefines himself in relation to women occurs in the

[46] The next time Tom enters Doctor's private house is when he gets invited to tea with the Doctor and older boys such as Young Brooke. He is proud of being there with those who are more mature than he. As he thinks of Young Brooke as his role model and desires to acquire masculinity as soon as possible in this scene, the Doctor's home within the school space also teaches him to pursue a home in which he can function as a husband and father.

sickroom scene, coinciding with Arthur's development. Hall contends that in *Tom Brown* boys are expected to outgrow female influence once they enter the school space, but at the same time, women remain "vague sources of continuing threat" (333) to boys. I think this is why Arthur's mother reappears in the school space after Arthur demonstrates his masculinity by recovering from illness. In the scene in which Eric Williams returns to his aunt's home as a sick boy, Farrar's narrator emphasizes how the place looks feminine, and how there he returns to an infant state under feminine influence: "The pretty little room, fragrant with sweet flowers from the greenhouse, was decorated with all the refinement of womanly taste, and its glass doors opened on the pleasant garden. It was long, long since Eric had seen anything like it, and he had never hoped to see it again" (Farrar 183). By contrast, in *Tom Brown* the presence of a mother within the sickroom is no threat to the sick boy anymore. Instead, it facilitates another boy's development—Tom Brown's.

Hughes's sickroom scene illuminates how a schoolboy's relation to domesticity plays an important role in his acquisition of manliness. In her reading of the sickroom scene, Martin points out that Tom begins to imagine what Arthur's sisters look like when he first sees Arthur's mother and that he acts like a foolish young lover who can neither understand nor control his emotion when dashing out of the room (495). It is worth noting that in this scene Arthur's mother looks as if she does not belong to this world: she is "tall and slight and fair, with masses of golden hair drawn back from the broad white forehead, and the calm blue eye meeting his so deep and open—the eye that he knew so well, for it was his friend's over again, and the lovely tender mouth that

trembled while he looked" (Hughes 320-21). Martin claims that as an embodiment of idealized femininity Arthur's mother helps to prepare Tom for his future role as a husband and father through arousing within him the desire for a female angel in the house as well as teaching him how to "define himself in relation to women too" (484). With the help of this encounter Tom can prepare himself for the world of heterosexuality that is waiting for him outside the school:

> Tom has tested himself against other boys, from the village lads to the schoolhouse bully; he has learnt to live as a boy, and a leader among boys. But unless he learns how to fit an angel in the house into his destiny, he will remain ill-equipped to win his place in the world of men. . . He must reactivate and sublimate his earliest love, his love for his mother, and learn how to direct affection and desire toward a suitable female object. (Martin 487)

According to Martin, Tom should start to look for an Angel in the House in order to get integrated into the men's world. Although I agree that Tom learns to desire a feminized angel in this scene, I do not think that he "reactivate[s]" his love for his mother; Tom's mundane mother shares no angelic qualities with Arthur's mother, and the narrator does not describe either his relation to her or his feeling for her importantly in the earlier chapters of the novel. Rather, Tom seems to "learn" to desire idealized femininity, as if that kind of desire is a part of a school lesson that a schoolboy is expected to internalize in order to acquire manliness.

The desire for idealized femininity goes along with the pursuit of domesticity in *Tom Brown*. While attending the public school Tom comes to cultivate a homesickness that he did not originally have. In "Sex and the Single Boy: Ideals of Manliness and Sexuality in Victorian Literature for Boys," Nelson claims that Tom's true growth occurs in terms of morality. As Nelson observes, while in the first half of the novel Tom develops the qualities that are natural to his character through sports and battle, they do not make him achieve manliness ("Sex" 536). Focusing on the "moral toughness" of Tom's schooldays, Nelson argues that Tom acquires androgynous qualities through his schooling at Rugby:

> Rugby, however, is the main focus of the story, because there Tom learns the nature of true manliness: not−as he originally assumes−the physical toughness that comes naturally to him, but the moral toughness that he learns in painful stages from Arthur and from Arnold himself, first as moral courage, then as nurturance, next as self-discipline, and finally as humility. None of these qualities is natural to Tom's character, and each is androgynous or downright feminine to modern eyes. ("Sex" 536)

I would add that just as qualities such as moral courage and tenderness are not natural to Tom's character, neither is a desire for middle-class domesticity. In addition to cultivating androgynous qualities, it can be said that he cultivates a sense of homesickness as well through his relationship with Arthur and through observing the model of Doctor Arnold at Rugby. By learning how to feel homesick, he can find the reason why he should leave his school someday and struggle to build his own home.

As Nelson notes, Arthur's affectionate personality signifies "a welcome intrusion of domesticity into the overly masculine Rugby environment" ("Sex" 548). In addition to reminding Tom and other boys of the presence of home through his tender disposition, he directly brings domesticity into the Rugby curriculum through the stories he tells. It is noteworthy that Arthur depicts his childhood home to Tom as an earthly paradise more than once. Before overcoming homesickness, Arthur constantly talks about his home and his dead father. While readers do not see Tom talking about his own home to anybody in the school, he gets so interested in Arthur's story that he "[forgets] all about chisels and bottled beer; while with very little encouragement Arthur launch[es] into his home history, and the prayer-bell put them both out sadly when it rang to call them to the hall" (Hughes 237). In this sense, it becomes evident that Arthur's home stories teach Tom−to borrow Martin's phrase−an "affection and desire toward" home as well as helping Arthur to heal his homesickness. In the sickroom scene Tom hears about Arthur's home once more with the angelic mother sitting in the same room with them. That he gets "jealous" of Arthur's home in this scene (Hughes 321) suggests that he comes to accept the idealized vision of domesticity as one of the goals of his life.

It is worth noting that Tom is not the only schoolboy who aims to go out to the wider world; Arthur, the once pale, delicate, and homesick boy, is also presented as a successful product of the Rugby system at the end of the novel.[47] According to Kelly

[47] Robert Dingley argues that in *Tom Brown* the Doctor's disciplinary regime is tailored to each student's needs instead of molding students uniformly: "Tom's tendency to transgression, for example, derives from boyish high spirits rather than real vice, so it is effectively tempered by the Doctor's provision of George Arthur as a spiritually elevating room-mate; conversely, Arthur's withdrawn reticence finds itself healthily adjusted by exposure to Tom's more clubbable personality" (5).

Boyd, for Victorian schoolboys physical development was one of the most important signifiers of masculinity (15). In "Tom Brown's Last Match," the penultimate chapter, Hughes's narrator emphasizes how Tom and Arthur both have become physically mature. Tom is "a strapping figure, near six feet high, with ruddy tanned face and whiskers, curly brown hair, and a laughing dancing eye;" Arthur is "well knit and active" (Hughes 351). By capturing the last moment when they are spending their schooldays together and portraying their figures in one frame, the narrator implies that now Arthur is not far behind Tom on his passage to manhood in physical terms. While it is true that in *Tom Brown* physical development is one of the most crucial signifiers of masculinity, Arthur's transition between boyhood and manhood occurs on another level as well. Arthur acquires masculinity by disconnecting himself from his childhood home and repositioning himself as a traveler to the outer world, and this differentiates him from Eric, another homesick boy. As he changes the direction of his journey unlike Eric, his transition tells us a great deal about the complex relationship between domesticity and the formation of masculinity.

At the beginning of the novel, Arthur suffers from a sense of homelessness, like Farrar's Eric. To stay connected to his childhood home and the set of values that it represents, he must pray at night, remembering how his mother has taught him to do so. Interestingly, both Arthur and Eric catch a fever in the novels, and it is this moment when they take separate paths. Although Arthur's sickbed scene has drawn much critical attention, scholars have read it as either a physical or a spiritual development; in either case they consider Arthur's development less important than Tom's. Hall argues that in

this scene Arthur's surviving a fever makes him function as a "mirror-image" of Tom as well as representing muscular Christianity (333).[48] Sanders remarks that Arthur plays a role similar to that of Helen Burns in *Jane Eyre*; while noting that unlike Helen he recovers from sickness, he argues that "like her he can inspire from his sickbed, and like her he serves to fire the central character" (xvi). In other words, he serves to facilitate Tom's spiritual development by showing him a glimpse of the spiritual world. To be sure, as his doctor tells his mother, he recovers from the fever with the help of the improved constitution that he has acquired at Rugby, and it is also evident that the episode helps Tom to develop spiritually by showing him a glimpse of "the other world" or heaven. Yet I suggest that this scene does much more than illustrating physical/spiritual development.

In *Eric* the fever isolates Eric from the men's world for ever and sends him first to a childhood world and then to the other world−heaven. At the end of the novel Eric runs away from his school, goes to sea, and then returns to his aunt's home, but what is waiting for him there is not liberation from school but death. Being transported back to his childhood, he once more becomes childlike in his aunt's cottage; he is "dressed once more," is "once more fed on nourishing and wholesome food," and gets the opportunity to "move once more about the garden by Fanny's side" (Farrar 183). Although he seems to reach the ultimate destination of his journey in this scene, he soon dies. Through this

[48] Although Tom and Arthur both have acquired masculinity, for the narrator Arthur is a less manly man than Tom, the ideal boy. Martin argues that Arthur functions as an "instrument" (484) that helps to facilitate Tom's development. As she reads the novel, his feminine attributes differentiate him from other boys such as Tom and East from the beginning, as well as enabling him to serve as a heroine who should be protected by Tom, the hero. Through protecting Arthur from other boys, Tom can practice the role of a husband and thereby develop himself into a mature man (Martin 487).

example Farrar suggests that it is impossible for a schoolboy to return to his childhood home even if he escapes his school space. That Eric dies as a sickened child after escaping from his school suggests that it is impossible for him to escape from institutionalized education and that he will not be accepted as a man in Victorian society without completing his education.

At first glance Arthur seems about to follow Eric's path in the sickroom scene. In *Eric*, when Eric's friends Montagu and Wildney visit him, they perceive that his face has turned pure and bright like an angel's, and the moment he dies they witness that "the smile and brightness [play] over his fair features like a lambent flame" (Farrar 188), which signifies that he has gone to the spiritual world. This scene resembles the scene in which Tom Brown enters the school sickroom and finds Arthur an angelic figure hovering between this world and heaven:

> Arthur was lying on the sofa by the open window, through which the rays of the western sun stole gently, lighting up his white face and golden hair. Tom remembered a German picture of an angel which he knew; often had he thought how transparent and golden and spirit-like it was. and he shuddered to think how like it Arthur looked, and felt a shock as if his blood had all stopped short, as he realized how near the other world his friend must have been to look like that. (Hughes 307-308)

Despite the similarities between the description of the two sick boys, Arthur survives and returns to this world instead of departing to the spiritual world. Noting that in many school stories there is a luminous window in a sickroom, Elizabeth Gargano argues that

the window promises escape from the school to a number of sick children, including Arthur of *Tom Brown*:

> Unlike the vague crowd of deformed schoolboys at Dotheboys Hall, the sick children who occupy center stage in their respective novels not only retain their normative beauty, but are also etherealized, as their illness develop, into a rarer, stranger loveliness. Thus, the dying Helen Burns possesses, in moments of intellectual excitement, an elusive and "singular" beauty that the healthy Jane cannot equal. . . Similarly, the convalescent George Arthur exudes an unearthly, angelic grace, compared to his sturdy friend Tom Brown. . . . Such diseased schoolchildren seem to gravitate toward windows, which bathe them in a mysterious light. Thus, the most consistent iconographic element of the school sickroom is not the medicine bottle but the luminous window, which promises escape from the school's stifling institutionality and the constraining architecture of the mortal body. (129)

It is true that the light coming from the open window of the sickroom makes Arthur's face look "elusive" and "etherealized" to Tom's eyes. Yet he is differentiated from the sick children who long for the release of heaven. Unlike Helen Burns and Eric, not only does he recover from his illness but he also longs to return to school, which suggests that he has decided to get integrated into the adult male world instead of returning to his childhood home.

Here it is important to note that the concept of "the other world" has a double meaning in Arthur's sickroom scene. That Arthur adopts the other meaning of this term

indicates that his journey has a different direction from Eric's. Arthur mentions Martin, the eccentric boy who collects animals in his study and who eventually goes to the South Pacific in his uncle's ship. As Sanders notes, Martin's enthusiasm about natural science is "shared and to some extent qualified by a greater awareness of human commitment" as he comes to socialize other Rugby boys (xix). On his sickbed Arthur imagines how Martin has become a missionary who "convert[s] all the island" (Hughes 310). Although the idea of conversion is tied to missionaries rather than to adventures, in Arthur's imagination he looks like an imperialist adventurer.[49] Arthur confesses that during his sickness he has been imagining Martin traveling in the other world of foreign regions: "You can't think how often I've been thinking of old Martin since I've been ill; I suppose one's mind gets restless, and likes to wander off to strange unknown places. I wander what queer new pets the old boy has got; how he must be revelling in the thousand new birds, beasts, and fishes" (Hughes 309). He also suggests that his own eagerness to join his friends "in some strange place or scene" (Hughes 310) drove him back to this world. In this sense, it can be said that Arthur advances toward manhood not just by

[49] According to Patrick A. Dunae, The *Boy's Own Paper* represented patriotic heroes, who contributed to the expansion of the empire as well as getting involved in missionary work. W. H. G. Kingston and R. M. Ballantyne wrote many stories about missionaries. However, in the late nineteenth century the *Boy's Own Paper* came to spend more space on adventure tales with strong imperialist sentiments than on the representation of missionary activities. It is significant that in the *Boy's Own Paper* the missionary tales came to be replaced with imperialist adventure tales. Although Martin becomes a missionary, he does not reveal any religious enthusiasm until he leaves Rugby, though apparently he is interested in the exploration of the natural world. This suggests that the imperial enterprise had multiple motivations; it is hard to tell whether Marin's travel got triggered by desire to explore unknown places, by religious enthusiasm, or by the desire for domination. These multiple motivations can also be found in Arthur's sickroom scene; while the narrator emphasizes religious ideas through Arthur's overcoming a fever, we can notice that other desires also drive him back to life.

demonstrating his improved health but also by identifying himself as a traveler of the wider world.

Rugby provides Arthur with not just Tom but also Martin as a facilitator of development. While Arthur's relationship with Martin has received less critical attention than Tom and Arthur's relationship, Martin exerts much influence on Arthur, maybe more profoundly than Tom. Because Arthur is strangely attracted to Martin even before he knows him well, Tom gets jealous about it sometimes. On the one hand, Martin helps Arthur to become a healthy future citizen through physical activities such as climbing trees, but at the same time and perhaps more significantly, Arthur's emotional tie with Martin beckons him come and join the journey to the "other world." It is interesting to note that "[i]n token of his gratitude, Arthur allowed Martin to tattoo a small anchor on one of his wrists, which decoration, however, he carefully concealed from Tom" (Hughes 280). Considering that the image of an anchor is associated with the prospect of a seafaring life, this scene not only foretells Martin's travel to foreign places but also Arthur's imagining himself and Martin as travelers/adventurers.

In short, unlike Eric who fails to disconnect himself from the anchor of his childhood home, the Rugby boys such as Tom, Arthur, and Martin grow up, seeking their future roles either in domestic space or in the wider world. While *Eric* criticizes the public school system through portraying a schoolboy's failure to reach his final and only destination, his childhood home, *Tom Brown* illustrates that the values of the home and those of male development can be combined at the public school. Despite differences, it must also be noted that the home is idealized in both stories; both *Tom Brown* and *Eric*

bring the contexts of the home into the school setting, one by combining it with the discourse over male development and the other by placing it on the opposite side of development.

Homesickness for the School

Yet if the home is idealized, so are the school and the schooldays. While the first section of this chapter is focused on the relationship between the schoolboys' growing up and domesticity, this section examines the implication of Old Boys' becoming homesick for the school after leaving it. In my definition, homesickness indicates the state in which one repeatedly desires to return to a certain place and then continues feeling alienated after returning to it. Much as David Copperfield and Eric Williams feel displaced when they return to their childhood homes, Tom Brown feels homesick despite his effort to feel connected to his old school when he returns to it. Considering that Eric's childhood home is an earthly paradise that is lost along with the end of his childhood, it is no wonder that it is impossible for Eric to return to it, but then a school as an idealized space may also turn into a lost paradise once a schoolboy leaves it.

According to Harrington, in *Tom Brown at Oxford* Tom's marriage signals the ending of manliness, while in *Tom Brown*'s *Schooldays* Hughes portrays an ideal period during which a boy can stay both mature and innocent. Although at the end of the first novel Tom achieves maturity while maintaining boyish energy and purity, Harrington doubts that this state can last after leaving the school: "How long could Tom Brown uphold an implicit vow of chastity and remain physically fit? With Flashman removed

from the picture and Arthur turned into a cricket player, athletics absorbs all the random energy of the schoolboys, but how long could Tom Brown uphold his implicit vow after he left Rugby? . . .The cult of manliness was inevitably a cult of youth" (16). In other words, as a schoolboy gets married and settles, he may lose a "pure" manliness from which heterosexuality is excluded as well as its energy that has advanced him until then (Harrington 17).[50] Similarly, Dingley argues that Hughes's masculine ideal can survive only within confined space and time; while in *Tom Brown* individual autonomy is seamlessly reconciled with the Doctor's authority within the enclosed world of the school, it is doubtful that such an ideal state could last outside the school and the text (9).[51] While these scholars raise doubts about different aspects, they are in essential agreement that in *Tom Brown* Rugby is portrayed like a fantasy world that looks realistic only while inhabiting it.

In "Tom Brown's Second Match," the penultimate chapter of the novel, Tom is portrayed as a young traveler who begins a voyage to the outer world instead of returning home:

[50] Kipling seems deeply interested in the cult of youth. Like *Tom Brown*, Kipling's *Kim* ends before its protagonist loses traits of boyhood including sexual innocence, as if the protagonist's life as an adventurer ends along with the end of his boyhood. Similarly, Kipling's "The White Seal" portrays how the white seal becomes an adventurous hero by postponing marriage and settled life. While the grownup seals are aware that many of the adolescent seals are killed by humans, they pretend not to know it, and when Kotick attempts to discover a better place no seal sympathizes with him. In the scene in which Kotick returns to the seals and tells them about the place he found, other seals that are about his age and that are already married laugh at him. As I will demonstrate in the last chapter, the white seal's story illuminates how the idealization of boyhood is linked to imperial expansion during late nineteenth century.

[51] Edward A. Allen also argues that even though Arnold developed the notion of the Christian gentleman and the public schools claimed that they sought to promote social amalgamation, one may doubt that they actually functioned so (89).

> And the next morning after breakfast he squared up all the cricketing accounts, went round to his tradesmen and other acquaintance, and said his hearty good-byes: and by twelve o'clock was in the train, and away for London, no longer a school-boy, and divided in his thoughts between hero-worship, honest regrets over the long stage of his life which was now slipping out of sight behind him, and hopes and resolves for the next stage upon which he was entering with all the confidence of a young traveller. (Hughes 367)

In capturing the last moment of Tom's schooldays, this scene echoes the earlier scene in which Tom leaves his home and departs for Rugby. In this sense, his returning to the school in the last chapter of the novel echoes the homecoming moments that are repeated during his schooldays. While young Tom triumphantly returns to his home and gets welcomed by his family in the earlier chapters, at the end of the novel he becomes homesick for the school, finding himself displaced and uprooted.

If a schoolboy's fundamental aim is to finish his transition between boyhood and manhood, then why should he long for enduring boyhood after accomplishing the transition? If a school is a place in which a boy prepares himself for a journey to the wider world, then why should he dream of returning? Here we need to remind ourselves of the double connotation of the anchor tattoo on Arthur's wrist. On the one hand, it signals that the public school prepares boys for going out, but on the other hand, it connotes fixity and staying in place. Hughes suggests that the emotional tie formed between Arthur and Martin provides them with a sense of fixity, imagining the public

school as a place to which the boys stay perpetually connected. In other words, with an anchor at the public school, Old Boys were expected to hold fast to the values and beliefs that they held during their schooldays no matter how far they were sent from home and nation after graduation.

Accordingly, Victorian public school stories present opposite impulses regarding growing up. In most school stories boys are expected to follow a linear order of growing. Simultaneously, however, Old Boys dream of returning to boyhood in and through the consumption of public school stories. For instance, just after arriving at the school Tom enters the school chapel and then notices that boys sit in rank there: "The sixth and fifth form boys ranged themselves in their school order along the wall, on either side of the great fires, the middle fifth and upper school boys round the long table in the middle of the hall, and the lower-school boys round the upper part of the second long table, which ran down the side of the hall furthest from the fires" (Hughes 129). Young Tom Brown finds his own seat at the "bottom of all" (Hughes 129), but adapting to the hierarchical system with no difficulty, he soon gets moved to the lower fourth form to which his School-house friends belong. In this way his story of self-advancement seemingly confirms the notion that a boy must develop in linear order. However, in the last chapter of the novel, when Tom visits the school chapel again as an Old Boy, he willingly goes down the ladder that he has climbed during his schooldays by "walk[ing] humbly down to the lowest bench, and [sitting] down on the very seat which he had occupied on his first Sunday at Rugby" (Hughes 375). These two parallel scenes signify that the public

school stories addresses not only the pursuit of self-advancement but also that of enduring boyhood.[52]

The pursuit of enduring boyhood is presented by the figure of the Old Boy who desires to stay connected to the school. In her influential book on the English public school stories, *The Heirs of Tom Brown: The English School Story* (1982), Isabel Quigly contends that adult interest in public school affairs was common from the mid-nineteenth century to the early twentieth century. Typical examples are found in *The Captain: A Magazine for Boys and "Old Boys,"* the monthly school magazine published in Britain from1899 to 1924. As the title signifies, the target audience of this magazine included both schoolboys and men who identified themselves as Old Boys. Interestingly enough, the advice column that is included in this magazine is titled "The Old Fag." In *The Captain* Vol. 23, the collection of issues published between April 1910 and September 1910, an "Old Fag" urges his readers to support his opinion on school rowing: "Every reader of *The Captain* interested in rowing is asked to advance our scheme for a public school challenge cup as far as lies in his power" (185). We can see that the Old Fag addresses himself both to Old and New Boys while arguing that the public school rowing must be "revive[d]" (185). Considering that *The Captain* was founded in the late nineteenth century, it can be said that an Old Fag's desire to "revive" a public school event came from urgency for maintaining nineteenth-century school

[52] In his description of the Browns Hughes suggests that it is desirable to maintain certain boylike qualities after reaching manhood: "The old Browns, with red faces, white whiskers, and bald heads, go on believing and fighting to a green old age. They have always a crotchet going, till the old man with the scythe reaps and garners them away for troublesome old boys are they are" (Hughes 4).

tradition, and that the Old Boys sought to feel as if they were involved in the present school affairs by making their own voices heard in the school magazines.

Like the contributors to *The Captain*, many authors of public school stories identify themselves as Old Boys, who address to boys and men. According to Richards, many nineteenth-century public school stories are based on the real life experiences of authors whose permanent boyishness helped them to represent boys' feelings authentically. It is well-known that *Tom Brown* was originally titled *Tom Brown's Schooldays by An Old Boy*. As Dingley notes, by using the pseudonym of an "Old Boy" in the early editions of *Tom Brown*, Hughes laid claim to "representative status" (6). Calling himself an Old Boy, not only does Hughes emphasize that his story is based on his own experience as a schoolboy, but he also imagines himself as an Old Boy coming to the school and directly talking to the New Boys.[53] Dingley adds that the narrator of the novel adopts a "tone of avuncular familiarity" (7) while being self-conscious of his didactic intentions. According to Dingley, there are two types of preacher in *Tom Brown*, the self-reflecting narrator and the Doctor: "When the 'Old Boy' preaches about his 'preaching', he presents himself as endearingly partisan, offering to his reader provocations which are fully open to assent or to disagreement, when, however, he describes Arnold's preaching in Chapter Seven, he presents the Doctor as a medium for

[53] Noting that Hughes began writing *Tom Brown* to give advice to his eight-year-old son, Dominic Hibberd asserts that Hughes identified himself as a friendly advisor for boys. Although he makes it clear in his preface that he intends to preach to young readers, simultaneously he attempts to disarm them by emphasizing that he himself knows well their feelings, thoughts, faults, and tendencies (65). Additionally, Quigly asserts that Hughes's writing style itself signifies his boyish qualities: "Hughes kept being distracted from his directly didactic aim by adventure and high-spirited boyishness and a diffused interest in life in general, which made him wander off the point in a journalistic way" (70).

the transmission of absolute, because divine, knowledge" (9).[54] That is, by identifying himself as an Old Boy who was produced by the public school, the narrator is able to position himself between the new boys and the Doctor as a mediator.

On the one hand, Hughes adopts an Old Boy's tone in order to influence his young readers more effectively. On the other hand, however, he seems driven by another impulse, namely a dream of enduring boyhood. Interestingly enough, Hughes's narrator is not the only Old Boy who is eager to convey his knowledge about school life to new boys, as there are also several schoolboy characters who function in this way in the school setting. At Tom's first day at Rugby Pater Brooke, the head of the eleven and the football captain, who is called "Old Brooke," makes a grand speech to the new boys before he leaves the school, advising them what to do and what not to do. Another example is Diggs, the queer boy positioned as an outsider at the school. Although Diggs acts indifferent to both older boys and new boys, he gives useful advice to Tom and East using the wisdom he has got while at the school. The narrator's description of Diggs makes him look like a grown boy or a man-child who is disguised as a boy:

> "I'll give you fellows a piece of advice," said a voice from the end of the hall. They all turned round with a start, and the speaker got up from a bench on which he had been lying unobserved, and gave himself a shake; *he was a*

[54] In the Preface to *Tom Brown*, Hughes indicates that his ultimate aim in his writing the novel is "preaching":

> My sole object of writing was to preach to boys: if ever I write again, it will be to preach to some other age. I can't see that a man has any business to write at all unless he has something which he thoroughly believes and wants to preach about. If he has this, and the chance of delivering himself of it, let him by all means put it in the shape in which it will be most likely to get a hearing; but let him never be so carried away as to forget that preaching is his object. (xl)

> *big loose-made fellow, with huge limbs which had grown too far through his jacket and trowsers*. "Don't you go to anybody at all−you just stand out; say you won't fag−they'll soon get tired of licking you. I've tried it on years ago with their fore-runners.". . . He was young for his size, and a very clever fellow, nearly at the top of the fifth. His friends at home, having regard, I suppose, to his age, and not to his size and place in the School, hadn't put him into tails; and even his jackets were always too small. (my italics, Hughes 173-74)

Reflecting on his own schooldays, Diggs teaches the younger boys how to deal with their conflict with Flashman, the bully. That he first emerges as an advising voice rather than as a tangible body and that he is so outgrown that he doesn't fit well into his own clothes and perhaps not into the boy community implies that he is another Old Boy figure who speaks to the new boys in place of the narrator even though he is still attending the school. In this way, in *Tom Brown* the Old Boy characters embody Hughes's dream of staying involved with the school affairs as if he himself is still inhabiting the school space.[55]

[55] In *Tom Brown* one sixth-form boy shares a bedroom with younger boys. In Tom's eyes the sixth-form boy is neither a full part of the boy community nor outside of it, just as he is neither a boy nor a man. Although his bed is placed within the room, it is half concealed by "white curtains" (Hughes 137), making him half-visible. The scene in which Tom watches "the great man" reading a book in his bed with his back to the room indicates the ambivalent status of older boys. Considering that only some of the sixth-form boys sleep in the same place with younger boys, it can be speculated that only those who are most trusted by the Doctor perform the duty of a medium between men and boys. This makes a stark contrast with the male relationships in *Eric*; the Roslyn boys have no guidance while attending the school because older boys do not interfere with younger boys' business, and the tie between boys and men also seems very week.

According to Quigly, Arthur Waugh, father of Alec Waugh who recorded his own schooldays in *The Loom of Youth* (1917), was so interested in Sherborne school, at which he was educated, that his younger son Evelyn Waugh called his interest in the public school life "obsessive." In his autobiography Arthur Waugh described how he used to visit Sherborne, being driven by a strange impulse. By coming to his old school and reflecting on his own schooldays there, Arthur Waugh was able to feel still a part of the school community:

> I might almost be said to have lived at Sherborne in my imagination. . . . It was so easy to slip into a train at Waterloo on a Friday evening, and arrive at Sherborne in time to see the lights still shining in the School House studies. Then there was the full weekend to enjoy, with a house match on Saturday afternoon, a dinner party of boys at the Digby Hotel in the evening, with a game of coon-can afterwards. (qtd. Quigly 198)

Waugh's self-positioning as an outsider and insider at the same time represents the Old Boy with mixed feelings towards school and boyhood; on the one hand, he feels that he still has rightful place in the school, but simultaneously he knows that he does not belong to it anymore. In fact, in many school stories including *Tom Brown, Eric*, *The Harrovians*, and *Stalky & Co.*, there is the figure of an Old Boy who visits his old school feeling guilty and excited at the same time and then reflects on his own boyhood among schoolboys as Waugh does. While these stories are mainly set in the main characters' boyhood, readers can glimpse their later lives as well as the way Old Boys perceive their old school and schooldays.

At the end of *Tom Brown* Hughes exhibits a strong belief in the enduring male bond, but at the same time he reveals doubt just before finishing the story about the possibility that Tom can stay connected to the school community. In the "Finis" chapter Tom rushes to Rugby after hearing the news of the Doctor's death during his trip to Scotland. When he walks toward the chapel in which the Doctor is buried, he doubts that he still has a legitimate place at Rugby school. The moment he notices a couple of the town boys who are playing cricket, he is visibly uncomfortable: "He was very nearly getting up to go and send them off. 'Pshaw! they won't remember me. They've more right there than I,' he muttered. And the thought that his sceptre had departed, and his mark was wearing out, came home to him for the first time, and bitterly enough" (Hughes 373). Readers know that the school is empty because all the boys have gone home for a break, but Tom perceives the school as a deserted place: "There was no flag flying on the round tower; the School-house windows were all shuttered up: and when the flag went up again, and the shutters came down, it would be to welcome a stranger" (Hughes 373-74). That he calls a new headmaster who will be welcomed a "stranger" while feeling himself like a stranger/intruder indicates that he is still attempting to claim a rightful place in the school space as well as concealing his sense of estrangement.

Considering that the relationship between younger and older boys at school is perceived to be harmful at Roslyn School, it is not surprising that Farrar's narrator seems much less sure about enduring ties with the school than Hughes's. Even so, at the end of *Eric* the Old Boy characters claim that they believe in it as much Tom does. In *Eric* the school is presented as a place of exile that is placed at the opposite of the idealized

home, but at the end it is idealized by the Old Boys. While Eric was the one who escaped the school community when alive, now that he is dead he becomes iconic for enduring boyhood. After telling Eric's story the adult narrator emphasizes a bond between Eric, who died young, and his schoolmates who are now adult men. In the last chapter of the book Montagu, one of Eric's old schoolmates, sits with the narrator, another schoolmate of Eric, at the "charming home" that he now inhabits as a successful man. He reads aloud Eric's poem "Alone, Yet Not Alone," which is written in a "boyish hand," while the narrator decides to "[cherish] it as [his] dearest memorial of [his] erring but noble schoolboy friend" (Farrar 190). With this scene the narrator suggests that just as Eric's life becomes a part of an Old Boy's story, the Old Boys are able to maintain their boyhood as well as their ties with the school through the act of recollection.

In *Dependent States: The Child's Part in Nineteenth-Century American Culture* (2005), Karen Sánchez-Eppler observes that the figure of the dead child was circulated and reproduced in nineteenth-century America. While *Eric* is an English novel, not American, and in Eric's case not a family member but a schoolmate mourns early death, I argue that the act of mourning functions similarly in *Eric*. According to Sánchez-Eppler, perceiving a child's death as a gap in the domestic scene, family members attempted to fill the gap with emotion, and through the very act of mourning, the values of the home could be confirmed among remaining members: "the loss of a child tends rather to confirm the family, and the multiple representations of a child's death serve to secure and extend domestic affect, filling the house with feeling, so that even chairs and shoes become haloed with emotion" (103). In family photographs including a child's

corpse, the inanimate body was "imagined like a drawer, an empty receptacle waiting to be filled with familial values" (119). Similarly, at the end of *Eric* the Old Boys imagine the inanimate figure of the dead schoolboy as if it were a receptacle filled with the values of the public school.

In recalling their own schooldays, the Old Boys imagine Eric's figure like a bridge between old and new boys. Yet the image of the dead schoolboy also comes to mirror the Old Boys' loss of boyhood, against their original intent. At the end of the novel Farrar questions whether the school can function as a place of fixity during the period of imperial expansion, through displaying the narrator's uncertainty about an enduring male bond. It is crucial to note that the image of the sea appears importantly once more in the closing scene of *Eric*. After recalling the Old Boys who are now in the wider world, the narrator visits Roslyn and walks along the beach near the school:

> I visited Roslyn a short time ago, and walked for hours along the sands, picturing in my memory the pleasant faces, and recalling the joyous tones of the many whom I had known and loved. Other boys were playing by the sea-side, who were strangers to me and I to them; and as I marked how wave after wave rolled up the shore, with its murmur and its foam, *each sweeping farther than the other, each effacing the traces of the last*, I saw an emblem of the passing generations, and was content to find that my place knew me no more. (my italics, Farrar 192)

On the one hand, in this passage the narrator seeks to revive the boyhood of the Old Boys including himself by picturing them in the same frame with "other boys."

Simultaneously, however, he is keenly aware that he and other Old Boys do not belong to the present scene. From his point of view, each wave is lost as it advances from the shore instead of becoming a part of an expanded space. The past wave that is swept away and effaced might represent himself, an Old Boy who is now away from the school, or Eric, the boy who died long ago. Either way, this image undermines his effort to confirm remaining ties between old and new boys, as well as suggesting that it is a false idea that one can be "anchored" at a school.

Tom Brown's ending might highlight doubt not just about enduring boyhood but also about the notion that one can expand home(country) through advancing into the wider world. In the homecoming scene, Tom seems to remain firmly connected with other Old Boys in "one brotherhood bond" even though they have been sent out to all the corners of the Empire (376), but such belief is unsettled the moment he loses sense of belonging to the school.[56] Compared to Hughes who tries to stick to the idea of enduring boyhood, Farrar seems more conscious that growing up is associated with separation and loss as well as with advancement. Farrar's primary aim in writing *Eric* may have been to criticize the institutionalized educational system that disconnects a schoolboy from his childhood home, but at the same time the novel illustrates that the Old Boys who survived their loss of home eventually lose their second home−the school−as well. In

[56] As Richards points out, Hughes describes the Browns not only as the ideal family that England has produced but as the ideal subjects for the imperial enterprise: "[Hughes] lovingly exalts the qualities of the Browns, their fighting spirit, clannishness, quixotic temper and optimism, exactly the qualities needed to run an empire" (50). Although Tom himself does not participate in the imperial enterprise in this novel, he is eligible for that task because he belongs to the same family.

addition to the issue of male development, *Eric* illuminates the other side of imperial expansion as well, even though empire is not the focus of the whole story. Here we need to note Sánchez-Eppler's comment on the replication of the dead child figure: "The repetitive portrayers of a dead or dying child work to articulate anxieties about growth and loss for a young nation characterized by abundance, geographic expansion, and industrialization but also threatened by economic instability and sectional divisions" (102). Much as the dead or dying child makes the remaining people become unsure about family unity as well as illuminating the instability of nineteenth-century America, the figure of the schoolboy who is swept away from the school community might embody Victorians' anxieties about the result of imperial expansion. If growing up makes a schoolboy lost and uprooted, then an imperial expansion that is spurred by individual development would lead eventually to loss and separateness.

Homeless Boys Who Know No Homesickness

While inheriting various literary conventions of the genre, late Victorian public school narratives show us that there was a tremendous shift in the conception of male development. By the turn of the century Victorians had come to rethink the issue of growing up, in terms of both individual growth and national expansion. Patrick Scott argues that the late Victorian school stories moved away from the moral didacticism of the mid-Victorian counterpart. For instance, Talbot Baines Reed, one of the most famous and popular Victorian writers of school stories, published a story titled "My First Football Match" under the name of "An Old Boy," which was originally Hughes's well-

known pseudonym. According to Scott, Reed's story announces "an adult flight from explicit or divisive ideological statement" (5) even though it borrows not only the pseudonym but also many literary conventions from Hughes's novel. It is worth noting that in this story both the problem of good and evil and the schoolboys' individual development are presented as less important than victory in a game and school unity (5). Scott also notes that Kipling's school story, *Stalky & Co.*, rejects the religious values that are presented importantly in Farrar's *Eric*. It is a school story based on Kipling's real experiences at the United Services College (the institution is also called "College" in the story), which was a public boarding school for the sons of military officers. Notably, this novel alludes to and parodies earlier and more traditional school stories several times; for instance, Stalky's maiden aunt once sends him a copy of *Eric*, but Stalky and other boys quote phrases from the novel only to mock each other with phrases such as "pure-minded boy" or "beastly Erickin'" (4). Noting that Kipling's *Stalky* shares the rejection of religious values and moral didacticism with other later Victorian school stories such as Reed's, Scott argues that it is differentiated from the mainstream in that it rejects the values of the "normative." As Scott notes, in Reed's stories schoolboys are expected to seek for the contribution to school cohesion instead of individual growth; in contrast, the three main characters of *Stalky* play outsiders, who have no interest in the values such as the victory of the school community or the school unity.

Acknowledging the truth of this claim, in this section of the chapter I intend to demonstrate that Kipling's *Stalky* moves away not only from the moral didacticism and heroism but also from Victorian conception of the public school as a true home. To read

the transition in the idea of male development, this section investigates the representation of particular places such as the school setting and the Old Boys' place for reunion. As I have discussed in the earlier section, the cult of public school contains tension between the pursuit of growing up/national advancement and that of enduring boyhood/settlement. In *Stalky* Kipling attempts to solve this tension by illustrating boys who do not feel homeless outside school and nation.

On the one hand, the school in *Stalky* is a little world that has its own rules. As Carole Scott points out, Kipling experienced displacement in his childhood after being moved from India to England at the age of four. Scott argues that Kipling created "otherworlds" or imaginary worlds with their own rules and modes of survival to overcome his traumatic experience (52). Pointing out that Kipling "plunge[s] his young fictional protagonists into parallel worlds with new rules and new modes of survival" (52), Scott concludes that like the Mowgli stories and *Captains Courageous*, *Stalky* portrays an all-male "testing ground" or a "combat zone" that is separated from the outside and in which boys can train themselves in surviving a battle (53). Nevertheless, it should be noted that the school of *Stalky* is still connected to the outer world. Don Randall argues that Hughes's Rugby "inscribes attitudes, values, codes of conduct that, ostensibly, can be transported to the distant and distinct contexts of the empire" (164). At the same time, he emphasizes its insularity, quoting Dingley's comment that it is an enclosed world. In contrast, Kipling's school is connected to the empire more directly. It is located by the ocean, like Farrar's Roslyn, and it is hard to separate the school from the sea, just as it is hard to separate a schoolboy's mindset from that of a soldier fighting

across the sea.[57] In "Stalky," the first chapter of the novel, because the sea permeates the school so thoroughly the boys don't even pay special attention to it in their school life: "The smoking vapours of the Atlantic drove in wreaths above the boys' heads. Out of the mist to windward, beyond the grey bar of the Pebble Ridge, came the unceasing roar of mile-long Atlantic rollers" (13).

While the narrators of *Eric* and *Stalky* have different attitudes toward the sea image, the sea, the embodiment of the imperial expansion, is associated with the loss of home in each novel. In *Eric* the sea image signifies Eric's loss of his home which is caused by the imperial enterprise, and similarly, the boys of the College have no home life. Kipling's narrator notes that most of the College boys were born in foreign places. What differentiates them from Farrar's Eric is that their foreign birthplace is associated with their status as both the sons of soldiers and future soldiers. In the scene in which Mr. Raymond Martin visits the College and makes a speech on patriotism, the narrator mentions the backgrounds of the boys who are attending the College, emphasizing that their lives are already deeply involved with the soldiers' lives, about which the speaker himself may not know a thing:

[57] If Hughes's Rugby is an island, Kipling's College has the attributes of a beach adjacent to the ordinary world. At the beginning of *Stalky* there is a dedicatory poem that portrays boys being raised and trained at the "beach." In this poem boys are taken from their mothers, are brought to a "naked shore," and then train themselves there. Similarly, in "The Brushwood Boy," Kipling's story about a boy who is educated at a school and then becomes a young subaltern, the image of the beach appears repeatedly. In this story the protagonist keeps returning to the beach in his dreams, repeatedly going out to the sea and being afraid of entering the land. Through the image of the beach between the sea and the land, Kipling suggests that there is no clear distinction between inside and outside the school and between domestic and foreign. This supports Randall's claim that Kipling's boy character represents doubts and ambivalences of British imperial subjectivity; instead of being embedded in the "homeland" culture, his boy figure presents an ambivalent state between the home/center and the colony/peripheries (163).

> He had no knowledge of the school−its tradition and heritage. He did not know that the last census showed that eighty per cent of the boys had been born abroad−in camp, cantonment, or upon the high seas; or that seventy-per cent were sons of officers in one or other of the services−Willoughbys, Paulets, De Castros, Maynes, Randalls, after their kind−looking to follow their fathers' profession. (Kipling 217)

Unlike Eric, who associates his home in India with the memory of a happy family life, Kipling's boy characters do not miss a home or a home life because they have not experienced such a thing before entering the school. Eric's childhood memories suggest that India can be the site of idealized domesticity, but as Kipling suggests, the "camp, cantonment, or [ship] upon the high seas" are antithetical to home.

The boys of the College do not suffer from a sense of homelessness and displacement, nor do they expect their school to function like a home. Accordingly, in *Stalky* no place is "domestic." When the three boys talk with The Revered John, a member of a "bachelor Common-room" and a "guest desired and beloved by Number Five" (Kipling 119), they differentiate him from the house-masters who are married, despising them for bringing domestic life into the school: "It's perfectly awful! They have babies and teething and measles and all that sort of thing right bung *in* the school; and the masters' wives give tea-parties−tea-parties, Padre!−and ask the chaps to breakfast" (Kipling 120). This comment contrasts strikingly with the moments when Rugby boys admiringly take glimpses of Arnold's home life in *Tom Brown*; while Tom

feels proud when the Doctor and his wife invite him to a tea party, in *Stalky* any trace of domesticity is nothing but a shame or an insult to the all-male world.

Interestingly, not only the official school space but also the place of retreat that the boys build to evade the school is insulated from domesticity. In the chapter titled "In Ambush," the three boys, Stalky, Beetle, and M'Turk, secure a private place within the school setting. This kind of retreating scene functions as a generic convention in nineteenth-century school narratives, but unlike Tom and Eric, who attempt to feel at home in private studies and/or bedrooms, the three boys' private place has no elements of domesticity or settlement:

> In summer all right-minded boys built *huts* in the furze-hill behind the College−little *lairs* whittled out of the heart of the prickly bushes, full of stumps, odd root-ends, and spikes, but, since they were strictly forbidden, palaces of delight. And for the fifth summer in succession, Stalky, Beetle, and M 'Turk (this was before they reached the dignity of a study) had built, like beavers, a place of retreat and meditation, where they smoked. (my italics, Kipling 29).

That the narrator names these places "huts" and "lairs" indicates that the boys do not expect to feel settled while inhabiting them. Far from resembling middle-class homes, they resemble a temporary shelter, whether an animal's den or the kind of military camp in which most of the College boys may have been born and raised before entering the school. In this scene the narrator also compares Stalky to Crusoe, describing how he acts

when he notices a footprint near his hut. [58] These choices of word imply that for Kipling's schoolboys a school is not a home but a site for adventure in which they train themselves to survive in the wild or on the battlefield.

As the inside and outside of the school are connected to each other, we can see that the Old and New Boys mingle in the same school setting in *Stalky*. The ideal of enduring boyhood is presented directly in the scene in which Old Boys visit the school. In "A Little Prep," the boys of the College welcome the Old Boys, especially admiring the subalterns among others. Here we can notice a distinction between the homecoming scene of *Stalky* and those of traditional school narratives. As discussed above, the Old Boys of *Tom Brown* and *Eric* cannot conceal their feeling of separateness when they visit their old schools. By contrast, the Old Boys of the College reintegrate into the school setting with no difficulty; not only do they claim their "right to a bed for one night" (191), but the headmaster also calls them by their old names as in old days. We can see that there is no clear dividing line between the Old and New Boys; when they tell stories to the boys who are curious about adult life, the housemasters are concerned that the boys' contact with them might "contaminate the morals of boyhood" (196), but this sounds like a parody of earlier school narratives inasmuch as the headmaster, who is the authority figure most respected by the boys, does not truly object to the contact between them.

[58] Bradley Deane claims that this scene emphasizes the boys' primitive character, by making them look like savages or little animals. Although Deane has a point, in this scene Kipling also seems to identify the boys with Crusoe, who builds his own playhouse in an island. Of course it cannot be denied that the three boys' huts/lairs do not follow British codes of domesticity as much as Crusoe's house does. This difference may come from the fact that the boys of the College represent an ambivalent state between home/center and the colony/peripheries, as Randall argues.

Commenting that "the phenomenon of the boy-man, the permanent adolescent, whose emotional clock stops and remains fixated at a certain age" was common in the late Victorian period, Richards claims that the Old Boy figures were confident in their own capacity to "empathise with and understand and interpret the feelings, interests, and preoccupations of real boys" (6). Although here Richards does not fully discuss the political implications of this phenomenon, later in the same book he notes that the emergence of the boy-men figures was associated with the ideological crisis of the empire. This corresponds to Deane's claim that late Victorians' anxiety about imperial enterprise caused them to reject the ideal of masculine maturity. According to Deane, instead of associating a schoolboy's character development with the expansion of the empire, they came to formulate and popularize a notion of perpetual boyhood:

> As liberal narratives of progress, civilization, and enlightenment gave way to militarism, prestige, and a vision of permanent dominion and endless competition, imperialists found in enduring boyishness a natural and suitably anti-developmental model of identity. An empire that has ceased to strive towards idealistic ends no longer required its heroes to grow up, and a non-developmental understanding of global politics welcomed a masculinity resistant to development. (86)

That is, not only were boys and boyish men believed to serve the empire through their perpetual struggle at the frontiers, but an image of a boy who never grows up also came to represent national identity itself. Deane adds that late Victorian school stories reject the narrative of progress and instead support the new idea that boyish spirit needs to be

persisted into adulthood. Taking *Stalky* as an example, Deane emphasizes that early critics such as Robert Buchanan and George Griffith criticized the absence of narratives of growth in their readings of the novel. For Buchanan Kipling's schoolboys are not like boys but like little men, and for Griffith it is problematic that Kipling does not draw a clear line between boyish and manly qualities (Deane 133). As Deane himself observes, in his later life after schooldays Stalky, one of the three main characters, succeeds on the frontier "not because he has grown in wisdom or matured in responsibility, but because he has perfectly preserved his boyish qualities" (135), or "stalkiness" as his nickname signals.

In the final chapter, "Slaves of the Lamp," the main characters of the novel reappear as Old Boys, feeling no homesickness for the school just like the Old Boys whom they previously meet as schoolboys. Since they do not expect the school to function as a fixed center, they do not feel displaced from it and from the imperial center no matter how far they travel away from them. The narrator explains that the boy nicknamed "Infant" has decided to live a bachelor life in the estate he inherited and then started to invite his old schoolmates to his house. [59] Seemingly, this scene resembles the homecoming scenes that appear repeatedly in the traditional British public school stories; the Old Boys reunite ten years after graduation, talking about their schooldays and old schoolmates. Yet in this novel the place for reunion does not offer any sense of

[59] It is an interesting detail that the boys of the College reunite at a bachelor's house. Unlike other boys, Infant stays in his home nation, but he escapes a settled life by refusing to marry. In this chapter I have already discussed how nineteenth-century school stories associate marriage and settlement with the end of boyhood. To present an image of a boy who does not grow up, Kipling chooses a bachelor's house for the place for the Old Boys' reunion.

at-homeness or fixity to the Old Boys. Rather, it resembles the "huts"/"lairs" that they used to build near the school:

> That was a dinner from the Arabian Nights served in an eighty-foot hall full of ancestors and pots of flowering roses, and, this was more impressive, heated by steam. When it was ended and the little mother had gone away−('You boys want to talk, so I shall say good-night now')−we gathered about an apple-wood fire, in a gigantic polished steel grate, under a mantelpiece ten feet high, and the Infant compassed us about with curious liqueurs and that kind of cigarette which serves best to introduce your own pipe. (Kipling 280)

In contrast to the "comfortable home" in which Eric Williams's old schoolmates reunite, this place looks closer to a military camp in a foreign region or a playhouse that imitates a camp. That the place for the Old Boys' reunion does not look so different from their "palaces of delight" that they built during their schooldays indicates that they have not changed over ten years. This is consistent with Deane's note that "*Stalky*'s narrative mode is not developmental but repetitive" (136). On the one hand, the place for reunion is presented as a temporary shelter. Repeating "a" in his description of the interior−*an* apple-wood fire, *a* gigantic polished steel grate, *a* mantelpiece−the narrator implies that the Old Boys' reunion will last only in a limited time and space. However, as long as they remain boyish, they do not need to experience homesickness.

Of course Kipling's school−the College−is an idealized world rather than a real one, in a different sense from Hughes's Rugby. To solve tensions within the imperial

discourse, he produces a fantasy world in which there is no clear boundary between the school and the empire and in which the boys/men do not experience a sense of loss for either the childhood home or the school. Yet *Stalky* at least exemplifies one of the late Victorians' efforts to respond to the shift in the political/ideological situation through employing the generic conventions of school stories. Here it is noteworthy that other writers of late Victorian school narratives produced different reactions to the empire's ideological crisis by rewriting the genre in different ways. As Quigly claims, Arnold Lunn, the author of *The Harrovians*, rejects the ideas of earlier and more traditional school stories such as honor, loyalty to the school, nostalgia for schooldays, and homesickness. Lunn's protagonist, Peter, is indifferent to religion and to school honor like Kipling's boy characters. Being familiar with the conventions of mid-Victorian school stories, Peter often identifies himself as a character of those stories, but he always finds their values irrelevant in his own school life. For example, he remembers the tropes of first-day-at-school scenes when feeling awkward among boys on his own first day at Harrow, but he soon differentiates himself from typical schoolboy heroes: "They were curiously indifferent to his existence, and were chatting together with a careless intimacy which Peter envied. He felt out of it, and not in the least like a hero of school fiction" (7). Additionally, though an orphan, Peter does not long for a home life and he has no expectation that the school will function like a home either. In this sense, it can be said that Lunn shares with Kipling the intention to depart from the literary conventions and values of mid-Victorian school narratives.

The fundamental difference between Lunn and Kipling is that the former criticizes the idea of enduring boyhood instead of fantasizing it. As the inheritor of the generic conventions, Lunn holds an ambivalent attitude toward the values of earlier works.[60] As Quigly notes, while he expresses contempt for adult sentimentalizing of their schooldays, readers can see a "curious mixture of the immediate and the distanced, the childlike and the adult" from his comments (159). Just as Lunn tries to distance himself from the traditional Old Boy writers of school stories, his protagonist tries to "laugh himself out of" (Lunn 262) sadness on his last day at Harrow, convincing himself that even his own emotion is conventional. Despite of his effort to separate himself from traditional schoolboy heroes, in some ways Peter acts like a typical Old Boy who desires to remain connected to the school community. When he first enters the school space and then introduces himself as an "old chaw" to the present Harrow boys, he feels uncomfortable, feeling like an "exile intruding on a land that had forgotten him" (Lunn 272); only when the Head of the House welcomes him does he feel released and glad that he has come. Yet when he encounters his old classmate Solomon near the House, he

[60]At the beginning of the novel Lunn attaches a letter to an old schoolmate named Adrian, in which he confesses that he wrote his novel based on a diary that he kept at Harrow. Recalling how he and Adrian felt contempt for the Old Boys who visited the school to make speeches, he states that he has sought to freeze the memory of the schooldays that he shared with Adrian: "You and I have often come out of Chapel or Speech Room vaguely wondering whether the distinguished visitors, who spoke with such bland assurance of our most intimate sentiments, had really been boys themselves. This book . . . is an effort to recapture the rough sincerity of Harrow life before we too forget" (vii). In differentiating Adrian and himself from the Old Boys they met at Harrow, Lunn expresses a sense of anxiety that he may become like them. On the one hand, by writing this letter he reproduces the mid-Victorian trope of an Old Boy addressing New Boys, but on the other hand, he is keenly aware that his desire to stay connected to the school is an impossible and dangerous dream.

becomes more critical about the notion of enduring boyhood as well as the imperialist values that it affirms:

> As he passed down the hill he suddenly heard his name shouted across the road. Solomon crossed over, and the two men greeted each other with exuberant pleasure. Old Solomon had hardly changed. Just as he had been a typical schoolboy, so now he was a typical 'old chaw.' A sudden memory flashed across Peter's mind. He recalled the old fights, and his old instinctive feeling that in after years old Solomon would sentimentalize over them with conventional delight. (Lunn 279)

In this scene "Old Solomon" resembles the Old Boys whom Peter meets while attending the school, such as Peter's uncle who visits Harrow and the Bishop who gives the boys a speech about the "Harrow Mission" while imitating slangs to show off his own capacity to "understand boys." The figure of an Old Boy who pointlessly struggles to remain boyish can be found in Kipling's novel as well, but unlike Kipling, who differentiates such figure from the Old Boys who truly maintain boyishness and celebrates the latter as the models for the boys, Lunn does not provide his boy characters with such examples. Instead, making his protagonist look at another Old Boy with critical eyes, Lunn questions whether the Old Boys can truly stay connected to school and boyhood, as well as questioning whether remaining in boyhood is an ideal state even if it were possible.

The public school has been perceived as a place for exile, a home, and as a (military) camp tailored for boys who do not grow up. The mid-Victorian school narratives transfer the contexts of the home to the school in order to idealize it as a true

home for those who leave both their home and their home country for overseas occupation. Yet the homecoming scenes in which the Old Boys are displaced from their school communities undermine such idealization. While reproducing generic conventions, the later works do not portray the public school homelike, thereby unsettling the notion that the school can function as a fixed focus of the expanding nation. In this chapter I have investigated how the stories of the school, which is placed between home and empire, reflect conflicting ideas of male development and nation building and how those conflicts are presented by movements in several directions−movements of boys growing, leaving, and returning to their point of departure. In the next chapter I will examine how the stories set in the foreign islands respond to the values of the public school stories by borrowing many tropes from them. Portraying a kind of school placed outside the national boundary, those stories trace how boys seek for at-homeness outside the home and the nation.

CHAPTER IV

HOME-BUILDERS AND ROVERS: NATIONHOOD IN ISLAND ADVENTURE STORIES

> The trees, from our distance, might have been hazel; the beach might have been in Europe; the mountain forms behind modelled in little from the Alps, and the forest which clustered on their ramparts a growth no more considerable than out Scottish heath. Again the cliff yawned, but now with a deeper entry; and the *Casco*, hauling her wind, began to slide into the bay of Anaho. The cocoa-palm, that giraffe of vegetables, so graceful, so ungainly, to the European eye so foreign, was to be seen crowding on the beach, and climbing and fringing the steep sides of mountains.
> −Robert Louis Stevenson, *In the South Seas*

As remarked in the previous chapter, the motif of sailing is presented repeatedly in Victorian public school narratives. Boy characters of school narratives are often conscious that they might get involved with sailing later in their lives, imagining the farthest edges of the empire through the boys who go off to sea before them. As Karen Downing notes, in the nineteenth century the sea was considered a site for the acquisition of masculinity; it was believed that a career at sea could make a man by offering physical health, financial success, and social status (73). Although most of the characters of *Tom Brown* stay in England throughout the story, on his sickbed George Arthur imagines Martin, his schoolmate who goes to the South Pacific in one of his uncle's ships, discovering strange creatures and converting natives on a remote island. In *Eric*, Upton, the Roslyn boy to whom Eric feels greatly attached and upon whom he relies, sends Eric a letter to inform him that he will never return to school, and then reappears in the Old Boys' conversation as "Captain Upton." While in the cases of Martin and Upton traveling overseas signifies the prospect of adventurous, manly life, when it is realized in Eric's life it is a nightmarish experience. At the end of *Eric*, Eric

gets on a ship named the Stormy Petrel, finds the interior of the ship a space of savagery from which all elements of domesticity are eliminated, and gets physically and psychologically marred while sailing.[61] If his school life isolates him from his home, sailing not only enlarges the distance between him and his home, but separates him from his home country as well. That Victorian boys' school narratives contain conflicting visions regarding juvenile sailing implies that the theme of adventure lies at the center of complex and contradictory discourse over nation-building during the Victorian period.

As Richard S. Philips notes, the settings of British adventure stories reflect conceptions of white middle-class masculinity. In the Victorian period, adventure stories came to be classified as juvenile fiction for the first time, congruent with the rapid development of a juvenile literature market. Since adventure stories were typically gendered masculine, they were primarily marked for boys in this period even though adults and girls also read them (Philips 596). In noting that nineteenth-century boys' school stories promote the ideal of "Christian manliness" or "muscular Christianity," Philips contends that this ideal is transported into adventurous settings in a simplified and caricatured form. As in the school stories, the boy heroes of Victorian adventure stories acquire manly qualities through traveling in male-dominated, liminal, and

[61] Eric finds difficulty in fitting into the seafaring life, finding the environment extremely inhospitable due to the lack of sanitation and to the sailors' crude manner: "He felt very ill; he had no means of washing and cleaning himself; no brush, or comb or soap, or clean linen; and even his sleep seemed unrefreshful when the waking brought no change in his condition. . . . His sense of refinement was exquisitely keen, and now to be called Bill, and kicked and cuffed about by these gross-minded men, and to hear their rough, coarse, drunken talk, and sometimes endure their still more intolerable patronage, filled him with deeply-seated loathing" (Farrar 176). Since he finds the journey "intolerable" (Farrar 176), there are signs of discord between him and the male crew, which comes to a climax in the scene in which he receives a flogging from a sailor. The protagonist of *The Coral Island*, by contrast, has his own manliness approved by the adult sailors and grows manlier through his experience of sailing with rough and savage sailors.

idealized spaces. However, while school stories present physical masculinity together with femininity as shown in the example of Tom Brown and George Arthur, the settings of adventure stories are portrayed as "uniformly masculine" (Philips 597). Agreeing with Philips's remark that in their settings, adventure stories posit a more radically male-dominated world than do school stories, I propose to focus on the ways in which those stories intensify boys' separation from "home" in terms of both domestic realm and nation. As discussed in the previous chapter, in school narratives boys are expected to grow up outside domestic space; in the adventure stories set in faraway parts of the empire, the problem of growing up becomes more complicated since the context of domestic/foreign is added. In addition to the acquisition of middle-class masculinity, boy characters of adventure stories are also supposed to demonstrate and experiment with Britishness through their journeys.

According to Joseph Kestner, in the late Victorian British society cultural imaginings of the adventurer were used in the conception of nationhood. Focusing on texts written between the 1880s and 1915, Kestner argues that adventure stories involve late Victorians' "inquiry, examination, challenge, doubt and dispute" over their national image (2). Here it is important to note that the idea of the home is sustained in adventure stories despite the gap between domestic and adventurous spaces. In *Problematic Shores: The Literature of Islands* (1990), Diana Loxley claims that in *Latter Day Pamphlets* (published in 1869) Thomas Carlyle portrays foreign territories as awaiting Britannia's reach, as well as encouraging British youth to participate in imperial destiny.

Analyzing the diction used in the pamphlet, Loxley finds that Carlyle imagines the empire as being like an island that must continue to expand:

> The multiple complexities−historic, economic, geographic, political, racial−which in fact characterise Britain's overseas acquisitions are here dissolved at a stroke by the creation of a single image, that of fertility and abundance, which serves to project the fullness of this colonial "beginning". "Fertile continents" and "wide space", "spice-lands, corn-lands, timber-lands", existent colonies and prospective, become merged into one undifferentiated, mythic site, an island of potential civility amidst those "many sounding seas" of savagery. (2)

The imagery of an extended home that embraces colonial territories corresponds to the imperial discourse that portrays travelers as the restorer of humanity sent to the New World. According to Loxley, though British subjects temporarily become disinherited−or homeless, as I put it−as they separate themselves from their home country, they eventually recover an heir's place by reproducing the values of the Old World overseas (2). Indeed, the island adventure stories depict a journey between islands, that is, home country and island(s) placed on the imperial frontier, and through this journey those who participate in overseas occupations contribute to the expansion of the empire. At the same time, this kind of imagination involves a redefinition of nationhood and of British masculinity. If a British youth is supposed to recreate a home on frontiers in the form of the home that he has left behind, is he inside or outside home

during journey? If outside, does he truly return? If he does not return, how will his continued absence affect the relationship between the Old and New Worlds?

To find answers to these questions, this chapter explores what happens to British male subjects when they are away from home, school, and their home country. To demonstrate that Victorian adventure stories reflect anxiety about the definition of British masculinity as well as revealing contradictions involving the issue of empire-building, I focus on stories that portray boy characters' adventures in foreign islands. As David Agruss asserts, in nineteenth-century British adventure stories the island setting functions as a liminal space outside both the home country and the colonies (3). Through placing boy characters in such liminal space, island adventure stories raise the question of what the home country would look like if extended into its foreign possessions. As I will be arguing in this chapter, mid- and late Victorian adventure stories critique the myth of male empire-builders through changing the tropes of earlier works in subtle ways instead of uncritically mimicking them. Loxley notes that in the nineteenth-century British imagination the island functions as a focus of imperial power and authority that provides the possibility of absolute dominion. Through the fantasy of an uninhabited island that "eliminates all historical and political contradictions," adventure stories seek a "simplification of existing colonial problems and thus an ideological process of wish-fulfillment" (Loxley 3). However, the settings of texts such as R. M. Ballantyne's *The Coral Island* (1858) and Robert Louis Stevenson's *Treasure Island* (1883) are far from

the empty space on which the British subject's will for nation-building is projected.[62] Instead, Ballantyne's boy heroes discover a former adult inhabitant's failure to recreate a middle-class home on the island, and Stevenson's protagonist Jim Hawkins encounters the marooned pirate who has not transformed the island into a home space while inhabiting it for three years.[63] Examining the relationship that boy characters establish both with the island setting and with the home country may enable us to understand the ways in which those stories reflect and challenge dominant discourse over empire-building and male domesticity.

The first section of the present chapter examines how nineteenth-century robinsonades−adventure stories borrowing literary tropes from *Robinson Crusoe*−such as Frederick Marryat's *Masterman Ready* (1841) and *The Coral Island* recast the theme of home-building presented earlier by Defoe. It is important not to forget that British island adventure stories provide not only an "adventurer" figure but also that of a "settler." As Andrew O'Malley notes, robinsonades tend to combine the narrative of adventure and exploration with that of making island spaces "home" for protagonists (67). Christopher Flint also observes that while Defoe's novels begin with adventurers' separation from the home, they come to reconstruct the domestic ideals from which they

[62] The elimination of "historical and political contradictions" from colonial space becomes even more impossible in stories set in India under British rule, as will be discussed in the next chapter.
[63] Sally Bushell notes that unlike the modern edition, which is in black and white, the first-edition map of *Treasure Island* contained handwritings in different colors; Flint's writings were in red, Billy Bones's were in brown, and Jim's were in blue. Bushell concludes that these handwritings in different colors refer to the "multivocal, palimpsestic nature" of the map. It is a "unique object able to be possessed and repossessed, with each of its owner's writing upon it" (625). I think that not only the map but also the setting of the island has a palimpsestic nature, in that it contains multiple traces of its previous inhabitants.

escape earlier in the stories (382). According to Flint, even though Crusoe rejects the comfort of the middle-class domestic life, he seeks to transform a desert island into a bourgeois household during his island life (387). As manifested in *Robinson Crusoe* and some of the nineteenth-century robinsonades, the dominant colonial discourse creates the fantasy of a single adult man who leaves home and then becomes a conqueror of an island through cultivating and protecting it from intruders. In other words, in building a home outside his home country, the adventurer can demonstrate both his own masculinity and colonial authority. Yet the legacy of Crusoe's home-building narrative was inherited in diverse ways. *Masterman Ready* and *The Coral Island* both challenge the tradition of a single adult man's adventure story on a foreign island. While reproducing the centrality of domesticity, *Masterman Ready* subverts the myth of the middle-class home-builder by portraying a working-class sailor serving as a home-builder and then failing to return home. *The Coral Island* unsettles the same myth by rejecting the idea of home-building itself and thereby betraying ideological crisis over the imperial expansion; that the characters of *The Coral Island* are at home on a foreign island without building a home anticipates the later Victorian period in which the empire-building project involved no personal attachment to a unique space but mechanical expansion of territory instead.

The second and final section of the present chapter investigates the conception of British masculinity through examining the cultural imagining of pirate figures. If foreign islands are imaginary spaces that mirror the imperial attitude, pirates are also imbued with myths involving overseas enterprise, generating "awe and admiration as much as . .

. fear and loathing" at home and serving as "a model of both unconstrained masculine individualism and extreme debasement" (Loxley 153). In adventure stories featuring boy protagonists, pirates provide an anti-model for masculinity as adult men, but simultaneously, their relationship to the home country illuminates unresolved tensions within the imperial discourse. On the one hand, piracy is associated with the concept of an endless boyish game, and in *Treasure Island* pirates are depicted as boyish men−or "Lost Boys," borrowing Barrie's phrase−whose loss of connection with the home country prevents the acquisition of authentic British masculinity. On the other hand, pirates including Long John Silver attempt to enter the British society through treasure hunting, which contrasts him with another homeless sailor figure who humbly stays in the margin of home and home country−Ready of *Masterman Ready*. Examining how the pirates are portrayed as homeless and how characters including Jim and Silver attempt to escape homelessness, this section argues that their ambivalent position within the empire helps to reflect the empire as a conflicted space, in which the boundaries between inside/outside, domestic/foreign, and (imperial) center/margin are challenged.

Domestication in Foreign Islands

As Ingrid Ranum remarks, domesticity intersected with imperial values inconsistently in nineteenth-century British society. In the first half of the nineteenth century, domestic ideology was central to conceptions of the empire; the notion that British domesticity should be reproduced in colonies played a crucial role in promoting and justifying imperial enterprises (Ranum 109). However, Ranum claims, in the late

Victorian period "there was substantial resistance to domestic ideology advanced by both feminists who questioned the relegation of women to the private sphere and−interestingly−by men who embraced a brand of masculinity based on homosocial bonding, activity, and, frankly, escape from the hearth" (110).[64] Quoting John Tosh, Ranum notes that adventure stories, which displaced domestic novels as the dominant genre in late Victorian England, perceive the empire as "a site for male resistance to domesticity" (111). Similarly, citing Martin Green, Kestner notes that while earlier English fictions preferred the theme of marriage and domesticity over adventure, by the 1880s both anxiety about masculinity and ideological crisis regarding imperial enterprise caused writers to turn to the theme of adventure (3-4). Thus, to understand the empire's shifting agenda regarding overseas occupation, it is essential to examine the ways in which nineteenth-century robinsonades respond to both the adventure and the domestic paradigm.

In my previous discussions of Dickens's bildungsroman and public school narratives, I remarked that two conflicting impulses inform Victorian conceptions of middle-class masculinity: adventure vs. settlement. On the one hand, restlessness was believed to play a key role in middle-class boys' transition to manhood by driving them into the wider world. Noting that restless male characters frequently appear in modern

[64] Focusing on the relationship between girlhood and imperialism, Michelle J. Smith notes how the figure of strong and independent women emerged in the late Victorian print culture. According to Smith, during the period of New Imperialism, "the acquisition of further territory for Britain and the growth of existing colonial settlements were supported at home by a web of rhetoric that combined the ideologies of imperialism, national degeneration, racial superiority, and patriotism" (2). Accordingly, femininity was not idealized for boys, and girls were not encouraged to become domestic angels. For instance, L. T. Meade's adventure stories portray how strong and independent heroines survive in colonial settings (4).

European fictions, Downing claims that the cultural imagination concerning empire-building promoted the notion of male restlessness. According to Downing, Robinson Crusoe may be the most influential and enduring literary figure who is representative of male restlessness.[65] While Crusoe's story is used in celebrating adventurous heroes who separate themselves from the home and home country, as Downing also notes, it illuminates unresolved tensions over contradictory ideals that are required for middle-class masculinities:

> Robinson Crusoe did not make men restless: restlessness was the expression of unresolved tensions in men's lives created from contradictions between ideals, aspirations, traditions and material circumstances: the irreconcilability between what men felt they were supposed to be and do and what was actually possible. Rather, Defoe's Crusoe was a man who seemingly reconciled the tensions in his life and so comforted men for whom restlessness, in another of the word's definitions, meant being "uneasy in mind or spirit." (3)

In other words, Defoe creates a fantasy about a life that combines two opposite values through the story of Crusoe, who functions both as a domestic hero and as an adventurer. This is consistent with Flint's claim that Crusoe attempts to rebuild the middle-class home from which he escapes at the beginning. In the opening scene of the novel, he

[65] Quoting William Buchan, an eighteenth-century physician, Downing notes that in Defoe's time it was believed that it was bad for men's health to be idle: "Inactivity frustrates the very design of his creation . . . whereas an active life is the best guardian of virtue, and the greatest preservative of health" (qtd. 14). Also, by the 1830s, people became concerned that civilized life makes men's bodies inactive and enfeebled (15).

attempts to displace his own family origin. Noting that Crusoe links his family origin to "the instability of language itself," Flint argues that "Crusoe's skepticism about the linguistic permanence of his name reflects the bewilderment that all of Defoe's characters feel about their identity" (385).[66] However, despite his initial intention to separate himself from the family, Crusoe eventually comes to follow his own family line. Pointing out that his father is a German immigrant, Flint claims that he is bequeathed "a legacy of wandering," like his older brothers who reject domestic life before him (385). After arriving on the island he seeks domestic comfort, striving to secure shelter, a country house, bread, clothes, furniture, and even pets. In this sense, even though Crusoe leaves the home/home country because of his restless disposition, we can say that he becomes a settler and a home-builder through adventurous acts.

According to Downing, fascination with the unknown world that is expressed by restlessness comes into conflict with the desire for emigration and settlement in nineteenth-century texts containing the journey motif (87). Downing points out that many of the nineteenth-century narratives about the construction of Australian colonies refer to Crusoe's story, identifying with the settler figure (1). In focusing on the theme of settlement, emigrants to the Australian colonies seem to reproduce the story in a fundamentally different way from the robinsonades that emphasize the narrative of adventure. Many scholars have studied how later island adventure stories recast the two opposing values that are combined in Crusoe's story. For example, in tracing the

[66] In introducing his family origin, Robinson Crusoe explains that he and his family came to be called "Crusoe" because of "the usual Corruption of Words in *England*" (Defoe 3).

transition from Defoe to Ballantyne, John Morgenstern examines how the eighteenth-century adult adventure story transforms into the late nineteenth-century boy's adventure story. Quoting O'Malley, Morgenstern notes that both *Robinson Crusoe* and some of the robinsonades combine the values of the domestic novel with the ideal of colonial adventure:

> As [O'Malley] goes on to point out, most of *Robinson Crusoe* consists of description of how the protagonist makes a "home" for himself. The common assumption that the boy's adventure story and the girl's domestic novel are distinct categories, that "narratives of colonial expansion and exploration are about the 'away,' while domestic stories are about the 'home' needs to be reconsidered since robinsonades "seem to have little trouble combining these ideological categories." (qtd. 297)

According to Morgenstern, *Masterman Ready* and Catharine Parr Traill's *Canadian Crusoes* (1852) combine the two different formulas, that is, the tradition of the domestic novel and the ideal of manliness, while Ballantyne invents the boy's adventure story by removing the element of domesticity (294). However, it is noteworthy that the nature and extent of domesticity in all these stories fluctuate considerably. It is true that Marryat reproduces the familiar narrative of settlement and home-building, but in his novel the opposing values are not so successfully reconciled as in *Robinson Crusoe*, and this failure of reconciliation helps to subvert the myth of middle-class nation-builders. Also, though I agree that Ballantyne's novel is anti-domestic, later I will be arguing that

such change is related more to the shift in the general imperial agenda than to the invention of the boy's adventure story.

As mentioned earlier in this dissertation, family and marriage life are excluded from Crusoe's home even though he struggles to build and furnish an English home on a foreign island. Marryat, the author of *Masterman Ready*, intensifies Defoe's theme of domesticity by bringing a family life into the foreign island setting. He makes it clear that his story was written in response to the German adventure story *The Swiss Family Robinson* (1812), by Johann David Wyss, in which a family gets shipwrecked and survives on a tropical desert island. Similarly, Marryat portrays not a single man but a whole family's shipwreck and survival on an island. The Seagrave family is shipwrecked on their way back to their home in Australia, builds a daily life on the island, and then finally escapes with the aid of the captain of the ship, who returns to the island to rescue them at the end of the story. In the final chapter of Vol. Three, Marryat's narrator offers a happy ending, stating that "Mr. Seagrave, like the patriarch Job after his tribulation, found his flocks and herds greatly increased on his arrival at Sydney," and that "Mr. and Mrs. Seagrave lived to see all their children grown up" (223-224).

In a sense, this novel can be read along with the Australian emigration narratives that Downing mentions in that it intensifies the theme of settlement. While borrowing the plotline from *Robinson Crusoe*, however, *Masterman Ready* features not middle-class Mr. Seagrave, but Ready, a working-class sailor, as the home-builder.[67] Ready, the

[67] Like *Masterman Ready*, nineteenth-century robinsonades for and about girls also help to critique notions of middle-class male empire-builders, not through class disruption but through bringing femininity into the home-building narrative. According to Megan Norcia, Meade combines the ideal of the masculine hero

old sailor who is wrecked alongside the Seagrave family, plays a crucial role in the act of home-building, employing his practical skills to help the group survive shipwreck, hunger, and cannibals. As he confesses to William, the eldest son of the Seagrave family, before the shipwreck, he himself has been shipwrecked like Robinson Crusoe, though he has not heard of Defoe's text before William refers to it. Like Crusoe, Ready makes a list of the resources that he and the family possess as soon as they arrive at the island, and plans everything ahead. Since he intends to build sites that require labor not just for their establishment but also for their maintenance, he sounds closer to a settler/emigrant than to a castaway who is waiting for a ship to save him: "Now, sir, the two most pressing points, with the exception of building the house, are to dig up a piece of ground, and plant our potatoes and seeds; and to make a turtle-pond, so as to catch the turtle and put them in before the season is over" (Marryat 240). While he often allows William to join the expeditions around the island, he makes it clear to the boy that "that

with the Angel in the House in her adventure story *Four on an Island* (1892). In this story, twelve-year-old Isabel Fraser becomes the adventurous hero who works for the survival of her brother, her two younger cousins, and a dog. Pointing out that in boys' adventure stories the split between the adventurous and the domestic spheres is widened, Norcia claims that *Four on an Island* merges the two spheres. Considering that girls' adventure stories celebrate the capacity to establish and maintain domestic space overseas, it can be said that they inherit the tradition of the domestic novel from *Robinson Crusoe*. At the same time, like Marryat, Meade disrupts this tradition by portraying not Ferdinand, Isabel's brother, but a middle-class girl as the home-builder. As Amy Hicks observes, in discovering guns from a wrecked ship Ferdinand identifies himself as the possessor of the island while drawing on the tropes of earlier robinsonades; however, when he sprains his ankle later, it is Isabel who uses the guns to protect their dog from the crabs (215), which can be seen as a kind of miniaturization of pirate scenes from other robinsonades. Placing a girl at the center of the narrative, Meade challenges the notion that empire-builders must be middle-class males. Although Norcia does not fully compare and contrast girls' adventure stories with male counterparts, she concludes that Meade's Isabel is Crusoe's more competent successor in that she overcomes domestic challenges such as securing food, clothes, and shelter more easily than male adventurers such as Ralph of *The Coral Island* and Jim of *Treasure Island*, and even better than Crusoe, her predecessor (353).

must be almost the last job" (Marryat 103), suggesting that creating and preserving a comfortable domestic space must be always given priority over adventure. It is also noteworthy that the neighboring islands are presented as already domesticated. Before the shipwreck, the Seagrave family visit an island; on this island William sees wild animals confined in a zoo, which is called "The Company's Gardens" (Marryat 22). Hence, Ready's home-building can be understood within a broader context of a colonization that seeks to continue the domestication of the foreign; he comes to contribute to the further extension of the empire through domesticating one more island.

Joseph Bristow claims that the Seagrave family recreate "a little world of domestic bliss" on their island just as the Swiss Family Robinson do (96). Similarly, Susan Naramore Maher notes that Marryat's castaways are more fortunate than Crusoe in that they have tools, guns and power, and domestic objects including even fine china. In Marryat's novel the middle-class family's domestic comfort is sustained as they have two servants to work for them, Ready the sailor and Juno the black maid, who is more useful than the sickly Mrs. Seagrave (Maher 171). While in *The Swiss Family Robinson* the father and the mother contribute to the survival of the family, in *Masterman Ready* it is impossible for the middle-class family to build and maintain home without help from the working classes and colonized subjects. Yet in this novel the home-builder's role does not necessarily empower the sailor. Although Ready becomes a successful home-builder like Crusoe, the two home-builders form different relationships with their home country. Sometimes regretting his own status as a prodigal son, Defoe's Crusoe maintains his tie with the home and home country while being "away" from them; he becomes a part of a

middle-class English family once again when he returns to England, though he leaves it again when his wife dies, and at the end of the novel he continues to oscillate between his home country and the wider world, building estates in both sites. By contrast, though Ready begins his personal history as a middle-class boy like Crusoe, he confesses that his overseas occupation caused him to get disconnected from his home, instead of giving him anchors in both the Old and New Worlds. As Maher points out, Ready reproduces the Crusonian story of romantic flight from home in the scene in which he leaves his home and family in pursuit of adventure, but his oral history demonstrates that "each recounted adventure lures the young Ready further away from the middle station and entangle him in offenses of pride" (170).

In Vol. Two Ready recalls how he once attempted to escape a ship and return to England when he heard his mother was dying of a broken heart, believing that he had died during his journey. Later he returns to his home country but remains homeless as he confronts the loss of both his mother and his inheritance. After landing on the foreign island, Ready serves as a nation-builder and protector of a comfortable domestic space, but he remains homeless throughout the novel. Neither becoming the possessor of the island nor returning to the home country, Ready dies and is buried on the island, while the Seagrave family return home. Noting that Ready teaches William not to follow his way but to perform his duty to family and home country, Maher concludes that Marryat reinforces the theme of spiritual growth through Ready's story of lifelong isolation and penitence. However, it can also indicate that overseas occupation can cause the male adventurer to become homeless not temporarily but permanently and that the youth who

is sent from the Old World might fail to return. In this sense, Ready's irrecoverable loss of home suggests that Crusoe, who plays a home-builder overseas but still maintains ties with his home and home country, might be a mere product of colonial fantasy.

Unlike the Seagrave family, the Robinson family of *The Swiss Family Robinson* decides to remain on the island instead of returning to Europe. They become the first residents of "New Switzerland," sending only Fritz, the eldest son, back to Europe. In the closing scene of the novel, the paterfamilias, who is also the narrator, decides to give Fritz the journal that he has kept since the shipwreck, hoping that it may be published in Europe. In this sense, Fritz is expected to play the heir of the family legacy in the Old World while the father remains the patriarch of the family that remains in the island. The novel includes the father's message to the Old World in the last scene:

> Night has closed around me.
>
> For the last time my united family slumbers beneath my care.
>
> To-morrow this closing chapter of my journal will pass into the hand of my eldest son.
>
> From afar I greet thee, Europe!
>
> I greet thee, dear old Switzerland!
>
> Like thee, may New Switzerland flourish and prosper−good, happy and free! (Wyss 278)

In addressing both the Old and the New worlds, he envisions an extended home in which the two spaces are interconnected. By contrast, in *Masterman Ready* the middle-class family does not settle on the foreign island, but sets sail for home leaving Ready's grave

behind. This difference may suggest that mid-Victorians were not so sure about defining the imperial enterprise through middle-class identity. Before the shipwreck, Mr. Seagrave and Ready speak in a disapproving tone about boys who want to go to sea. In this conversation Ready acknowledges that "there is not a greater slave in the world than a boy who goes to sea, for the first few years after his shipping," to which Mr. Seagrave answers that "a parent is justified in refusing his consent to his son going to sea, if he can properly provide for him in any other profession," suggesting that the empire can build itself exclusively with the aid of poor boys whose only capital is "activity and courage" (Marryat 54-55). This conversation suggests that Marryat intends to discourage middle-class boy readers from getting false romantic notions concerning overseas occupations.

Interestingly, Juno, the Black maid who is shipwrecked with the Seagrave family, is also presented as homeless and uprooted even though she contributes to the reconstruction of the middle-class household on the island. While she helps the family to survive on the island through cooking, cleaning, and taking care of the baby, she sheds tears remembering how, as a little child, she was parted from her parents, who became slaves (Marryat 19). As a successfully domesticated/colonized being, she serves for the maintenance of the middle-class family and eventually, for the expansion of the empire, but she herself becomes like a lost child in the empire, much as Ready fails to return home after his lifelong involvement with imperial enterprise. That both working-class Ready and non-white Juno get involved with the home-building but fail to reconnect to their own homes/home countries implies that despite increasing doubt about white

middle-class empire-building, the working classes and non-whites were still not considered true heirs of the empire.[68]

Like *Masterman Ready*, *The Coral Island* unsettles the dominant discourse on the male traveler who is anchored both at his home country and at the space he domesticates, but in a fundamentally different way. While Ballantyne uses the formulas of earlier robinsonades to exalt his boy characters to heroic status, he does not make Ralph, Jack, and Peterkin home-builders like Defoe's Crusoe and Marryat's Ready. To become a home-builder, one should first identify oneself as homeless and displaced. In many of the island adventure stories, the relationship between the adventurer's home country and the foreign island seems more ambiguous and inconsistent than that

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[68] According to Elaine Hadley, juvenile emigration in mid-nineteenth-century England was involved with contradictory discourses over working classes and childhood. Hadley notes that in mid-nineteenth century England (1830-60), the Society for the Suppression of Juvenile Vagrancy, which was renamed The Children's Friend Society in 1834, sent about 1,300 street children to Africa (411). As Hadley notes, it was hard to tell the juvenile emigration from a mandatory exile (414). The members of the Society, who were mostly philanthropists, believed that the children could grow up better in the clean and less crowded environment than in the over-crowded London streets. They also believed that poor children without proper homes had "slender ties" to the nation:

> Without genuine ties to a 'natural' family, these outcasts from the working class were not perceived to be British subjects and were thus easily deprived of legal protection. . . . Clearly, homelessness, like the lack of a family, meant much more to commentators than absence of shelter; it suggested an essential rootlessness and even treasonous dislocation from one's family and by extension from one's country, which could justify one's actual removal from it. (419)

Hadley adds that sometimes the Society separated poor children from their families, "thereby enforcing their homelessness and stats as orphans" (419). In a sense, both poor children and their middle-class counterparts were separated from the homes, but unlike the latter, the former were not supposed to return from the colonies. This explains why Ready, who degrades himself to join the working class, alone fails to go home but is left on the island after dying at the end of the story. In the same essay, Hadley also notes that Sergeant Adams, a nineteenth-century commentator, argued that the "gutter children" could be transformed into fertilizer if transplanted to a new land (433). Adams is not the only writer to see the working classes as fertilizer than as cultivators. In the final chapter of *Masterman Ready*, we can see that Ready's grave becomes a part of the tropical landscape as he is buried under the coconut trees; in this scene, he changes his role from home-builder, a role traditionally associated with the middle classes, to fertilizer that sacrifices itself for the sake of future inhabitants.

manifested in the dominant imperial discourse. As quoted in the epigraph of this chapter, in *In the South Seas* Stevenson portrays himself as a European traveler who attempts to perceive an island in the South Seas as a mirror of his home country, or a part of the extended home. For a moment, one space overlaps the other in his eyes as he finds the plants and landscape of the island familiar; however, he soon has to confront the gap between the two spaces when finding the coco-palms covering the island "to the European eye so foreign." Describing the coco-palms as "so graceful, so ungainly," he expresses both fascination with and resistance to the foreign plant. His mixed reaction to the foreign setting implies how a sense of homelessness leads a European traveler to seek at-homeness overseas. Unlike the traveler figure of *In the South Seas*, however, Ballantyne's boy heroes are "at home" throughout the novel, which prevents them from involving home-building while inhabiting foreign islands.

In *The Coral Island* fifteen-year-old Ralph Rover gets shipwrecked on an island in the South Seas with two companions−eighteen-year-old Jack Martin and thirteen-year-old Peterkin Gay. The first half of the novel depicts how they secure food, clothing, and shelter, as well as swimming, bathing, and observing the flora and fauna of the island. In the second half of the novel Ralph is kidnapped by pirates and escapes, and after his return the three boys leave the Coral Island for another island in the South Seas to save a native girl named Avatea from "savages" and to help her marry a Christian native man. The novel ends by describing the savages' conversion to Christianity and the boys' leaving the South Seas for the home country. Not only does the novel adopt a familiar plotline of shipwreck, survival on a foreign island, and escape, but it also begins

with the first-person narrator's self-introduction, as *Robinson Crusoe* does. Ballantyne makes it clear from the beginning that he intends to intensify the theme of adventure and exploration rather than that of settlement and domesticity, characterizing the protagonist of this novel, Ralph Rover, as restless:

> Roving has always been, and still is, my ruling passion, the joy of my heart, the very sunshine of my existence. In childhood, in boyhood, and in man's estate I have been a rover; not a mere rambler among the woody glens and upon the hill-tops of my own native land, but an enthusiastic rover throughout the length and breadth of the wide, wide world.
>
> It was a wild, black night of howling storm, the night on which I was born on the foaming bosom of the broad Atlantic Ocean. My father was a sea captain; my grandfather was a sea captain; my great-grandfather had been a marine. (5)

Although the narrator looks back on his boyhood adventures from an adult perspective, in this scene we can see that he has maintained a restless disposition since then. As Kestner remarks, though readers do not hear about the narrator's adult adventures, it can be assumed that he became a colonialist (19). In introducing himself as a man who was born on board ship and explaining his long family tradition of being seamen, the narrator suggests that he was predestined to contribute to the empire-building by joining "racial destiny," which Carlyle celebrates in the pamphlet mentioned before. In this sense,

Ralph resembles Robinson Crusoe, his literary predecessor whose restlessness drives him from his home and home country.[69]

When the narrator recalls how young Ralph envisioned the islands of the South Seas before departure, it becomes evident once more that the novel is borrowing literary tropes such as "thousands of beautiful, fertile islands," "constant harvest of luxuriant fruit," and "wild, bloodthirsty savages" from its predecessors (Ballantyne 7). Ralph feels excited the morning he leaves England, thinking that "the whole was a delightful dream" (Ballantyne 25), and the dream is fulfilled after he gets shipwrecked on a foreign island with Jack and Peterkin. According to Loxley, in *The Coral Island* "the children's mastery over a hostile environment" (115) without adult guide and intervention helps to confirm the victory of colonial power and authority. However, I argue that neither do the three boys strive for "mastery over" the setting nor does the island offer them a "hostile" environment. It is true that the three boys imagine themselves as colonial conquerors using the tropes of sea adventure stories. On his first day on the island, Peterkin

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[69] Like Ready, Ralph has the attributes of a prodigal son who separates himself from the influence of mother and domestic sphere. After retiring from seafaring life, his father spends the rest of his life on the seashore with his family. The adult Ralph recalls how he showed the "roving spirit that dwelt within" him since infancy:

> One day I took advantage of my dear mother's absence to make another effort; and, to my joy, I actually could succeed in reaching the doorstep, over which I tumbled into a pool of muddy water that lay before my father's cottage door. Ah, how vividly I remember the horror of my poor mother when she found me sweltering in the mud amongst a group of cackling ducks, and the tenderness with which she stripped off my dripping clothes and washed my dirty little body! From this moment my rambles became more frequent and, as I grew older, more distant, until at last I had wandered far and near on the shore and the woods around my humble dwelling, and did not rest content until my father bound me apprentice to a coasting-vessel and let me go to sea. (Ballantyne 6)

Young Ralph's "tumbl[ing] into a pool of muddy water" signals that he is destined to live the life of a sailor who risks drowning in the ocean and thereby separates himself from his mother, who like Ready's functions as his spiritual/moral center. This also suggests that he might lose connection with the home and home country as his restlessness makes him "more distant" from them.

reproduces the fantasies that he learns from public imaginations about the South Seas, not ever doubting that he and his companions will not just survive but conquer the island: "Do you know what conclusion I have come to?" said Peterkin.

> I have made up my mind that it's capital−first-rate−the best thing that ever happened to us, and the most splendid prospect that ever lay before three jolly young tars. We've got an island all to ourselves. We'll take possession in the name of the king. We'll go and enter the service of its black inhabitants. Of course we'll rise, naturally, to the top of affairs: white men always do in savage countries. (Ballantyne 18)

While here Ballantyne borrows the dichotomy of white adventurer/king and black inhabitants /servants from *Robinson Crusoe*, his boy characters do not domesticate the island space as Crusoe does. Rather, as Fiona McCulloch notes, as soon as the boys land on the island it transforms into a "British, Christian paradise in which the native is perceived as an alien invader" (139). The island setting of the novel is so pleasant and safe that the boys feel at home from the moment they find themselves on it. When Ralph comes to his senses after landing, he instantly "thinks of home, and the garden at the back of [his] father's cottage, with its luxuriant flowers, and the sweet-scented honeysuckle that [his] dear mother trained so carefully upon the trellised porch" when he feels the "balmy breeze" of the island (Ballantyne 33). That the boys do not find the surrounding space "foreign" fundamentally differentiates them from other protagonists of island adventure stories.

As Maher claims, while Crusoe's nature contains tension and uncertainty, Ralph, Jack, and Peterkin's nature looks closer to a "playing field" (172) that is particularly designed and built to offer them both comfort and pleasure than to a real space. In the scene in which they explore the island for the first time, Ralph observes that "the trees and bushes were very luxuriant, they were not so thickly crowded together as to hinder our progress among them" (Ballantyne 40). If the flora of the Coral Island are simultaneously luxuriant and no impediment to the boys' progress, it is as if they are gardened. Interestingly, readers of this novel hear about various gardens that are naturally formed on the island; the boys discover a spot at the bottom of the lagoon that they call by various names such as "enchanted garden," "submarine garden," or "Water Garden"; there is also a "garden of flowers" in the valley. The metaphor of the garden suggests that Ballantyne's boys perceive the foreign island as a part of their home space, or a marginal space that has already become a part of the growing empire. Noting that *The Coral Island* was written at the peak of the Evangelical movement, K. Fawn Knight maintains that islands in the South Seas were often associated with the image of the Garden of Eden: "Castaways in the island survival stories are usually thrown, not upon desert islands, but into circumstances of surprising bounty. The children are in danger because of their own inexperience, but like Crusoe they are able to survive and even to be comfortable" (17). While I agree that the idyllic setting of the novel alludes to the Garden of Eden, I propose that the gardens of the Coral Island also resemble an ideal school garden, which provides schoolboys both with education and with a sense of at-homeness. Instead of achieving spiritual growth, Ballantyne's boys get pleasure and

physical development from occupying the garden spaces and from playing in the lagoon that is surrounded by the coral reef.

Walking in the gardenlike setting, Ralph "recognized many berries and plants that resembled those of [his] native land, especially a tall, elegantly formed fern, which emitted an agreeable perfume" (Ballantyne 40). Thus he shares experiences with the narrator of Stevenson's *In the South Seas*, but he does not experience a sudden feeling of displacement through confronting his surroundings' foreignness. Here it is important to note how Crusoe begins imagining his island as a home. According to Julia Prewitt Brown, "Because Crusoe has such difficulty altering the natural environment to suit his purposes, he resorts to altering the way he describes it instead" (33). By using the metaphor of the bourgeois home in describing the island, he finds the island setting familiar: "He discovers a fruitful Eden in its center that looks 'like a planted Garden'; as a Christian, he has come into man's estate at last. Species are no longer strange—one of his cats miraculously breeds with an animal on the island—and Crusoe begins to name birds precisely when he refers to 'Penguins'" (Brown 34). In other words, he imagines the foreign setting as a home outside home and himself as its "heir" in order to feel reconnected to his home country. Yet as Brown remarks, the "discrepancy between things and the ideas Crusoe has of them" (34) remains unresolved in the novel; while calling the hole in the rock a "Door" and the caves "Apartments," Crusoe is still aware of the difference between the two spaces. Here the ways in which Crusoe and Ballantyne's boys perceive both the island setting and the foreignness differ significantly. Just as the Coral Island looks as if it had been gardened, the boys find that the whole island is

shaped like a domestic interior: "And so, having eaten our fill, not forgetting to finish off with a plum, we laid ourselves comfortably down to sleep, upon a couch of branches, under the overhanging ledge of a coral rock" (Ballantyne 81); "The large flat stone, or rock of coral, which stood just in front of the entrance of our bower, was our table" (Ballantyne 116). That Ralph uses the metaphors of "couch," "ledge," and "table" suggests that he is imagining the setting as an English home interior, but in his case there is no recognition of discrepancy between the domestic and the foreign.

Significantly, since the boys are already at home, they need not struggle to domesticate the foreign setting.[70] Knight notes that while both *Robinson Crusoe* and the typical robinsonades contain scenes in which the protagonists visit their wrecked ship to bring resources to the island, Ballantyne's novel is exceptional. In reading the novel in the context of evangelicalism, Knight concludes that "Only Ballantyne's three heroes have to rely solely on their piety and what they have in their pockets" (16). While Knight argues that this difference emphasizes the theme of the spiritual test, I argue that the three boys' not bringing resources from the ship is related more to their at-homeness in the new environment than to piety. Because they discover not only coconuts, yams, and

[70] O'Malley claims that in *Canadian Crusoes* the white castaways' desire to domesticate both the environment and the native girl Indiana is related to their desire to feel at home in a foreign setting: "The young Crusoes domesticate in a number of ways: they 'familiarize' themselves with their new surroundings and come to 'feel at home' there; they 'live familiarly' with one another and eventually with Indian as well. In domesticating Indiana, they 'make [her] to be or feel 'at home,' but also 'tame' her and 'civilize' her (usages of the term more commonly applied to animals) and 'attach [her] to home and its duties' ('domesticate')" (84). We can see that Ballantyne's boys who instantly feel at home on the Coral Island do not need to domesticate the natives either. After the savages sleep near the boys' bower, Peterkin notices that one of the women is comfortably seated on the rock in front of the bower. He says: "Hallo! Venus! where did you come from? You seem tolerably at home, anyhow. Bah! might as well speak to the cat as to you−better, in fact, for it understands me, and you don't" (Ballantyne 158). That is, there is no possibility of "taming" the native woman who instantly feels at home in the three boys' home space, like the tame cat that Peterkin finds on the island.

taro, but also a breadfruit tree, which bears fruits that are shaped and taste like breads, they do not need the complex process of planting and cultivating wheat on foreign soil that Crusoe endures to bake a loaf of bread. As Peterkin celebrates, they "seem to have everything ready prepared to [their] hands in this wonderful island−lemonade ready bottled in nuts, and loaf-bread growing on the trees" (Ballantyne 42). In addition to food, the foreign island offers the boys domestic comfort through the "candle-nut trees" and the trees round which the "cloth" is wrapped. Since the cloth is "remarkably like to coarse brown cotton cloth" (Ballantyne 63), the three boys rejoice that they do not need labor to produce handkerchiefs, while finding it hard to believe that "it had not been woven by human hands" (Ballantyne 63).

More importantly, in *The Coral Island* the sense of at-homeness prevents the adventurers from building and furnishing a traditional house. As Maher notes, Crusoe is obsessed with wall-building; on the one hand, it signals his constant fear of intrusion from outside, but on the other hand, it signals that he is seeking to struggle against madness, despair, and inner chaos (170). Identifying himself as a prisoner or an exile, Crusoe constructs walls against the outer space and grows attached to "[his] own House" (Defoe 111), in order to escape the state of homelessness and displacement that he experiences on the foreign island. In this light, it can be said that the construction of a house indicates Crusoe's ambivalent attitude towards the foreign setting and that this mixed sense of belonging/not belonging enables him to become both an heir of the Old

World and a conqueror of the New World.[71] In contrast, perceiving the whole island as a home-like space, Ralph, Jack, and Peterkin do not form a specific attachment to the space they inhabit. That they build not a traditional house but a bower, which is fundamentally a temporary shelter, and then become content with living in it differentiates them from other castaway characters. Instead of building an English home, they dream of going once again out to the "open sea" outside the coral reef, which continuously beckons them with the sound of "tumultuous water" (Ballantyne 122).

On one level, the three boys' not building a house may be related to the fact that they are boys. The narrator recalls: "Peterkin used to say that as we were very young, we should not feel the loss of a year or two" (Ballantyne 147). Focusing on the fact that this novel contains an all-boy community, some critics have argued that in the first half of the novel Ballantyne celebrates innocent boyhood through separating adventures from social contexts regarding colonial acts. For instance, Minnie Singh remarks that *The Coral Island* can be read as the pre-text of *Lord of the Flie*s (1954) by William Golding in that it opens the tradition of sea adventure stories featuring only boys (206). Drawing on Steven Marcus's concept of the "mythic doctrine of boyhood," Singh claims that

[71] According to Michael Faherty, the complex relationship between England and Ireland caused Irish poets to often express ambivalent attitudes to the two countries. Irish poets such as John Montague and Patrick Kavanagh express a sense of both belonging and not belonging to Ireland. In poems set in Ireland, they feel both "lost" and "at home." Faherty argues that this mixed attitude towards the place they inhabit indicates they are suffering from Robinson Crusoe Complex. For instance, Montagu recalls that he was "cast off" and "marooned" in Ireland in his childhood, remembering how he was shipped from his parents' home in Brooklyn to his aunts' home in Northern Ireland. He describes how he had difficulty in assimilating into the school community in Northern Ireland because of his Brooklyn accent. At the same time, he identifies himself as the last Montague in Northern Ireland (Faherty 374-375). This implies that one needs a sense of belonging/not belonging and of attachment/detachment to a certain place to become a Crusoe-like home-builder. Unlike Crusoe and the Irish poets, Ballantyne's boys neither feel like exiles on the Coral Island nor develop a sense of attachment to it.

Ballantyne presents boyhood as a period of innocence that is separated from all political and historical contexts.[72] Singh notes that while inhabiting the Coral Island, Ballantyne's boy characters are allowed to seek only pleasure, play, and appetite since they are boys, but once they leave it, they are supposed to work as colonialists (209). Similarly, Agruss points out that many critics have noticed the sharp break between the first and second halves of the novel; while its first half is focused on secular adventure, its second half deals with the issue of Christianizing the heathen. According to Agruss, the first half of the novel portrays the characters' indulging themselves with boyish adventures in a foreign setting, but the second half shows how they get involved with empire-building as they leave both the idyllic setting of the Coral Island and their boyhood (11). These scholars share the thought that the boy adventurers are exempt from the task of home-building only temporarily and that the theme of settlement eventually returns to the narrative as they join the missionary activity later in the novel.

In contrast, I think neither that Ballantyne's three boys come to play the role of the empire-builder in the second half of the novel nor that the novel's resistance to the theme of settlement and domestication is associated only with boyhood. Rather, the anti-domestic message of the novel remains throughout the novel, highlighting the empire's general attitude toward the foreign. As Maher remarks in her reading of *The Coral Island*, "To domesticate in the boys' minds is equivalent to a slow, quiet obliteration"

[72] In his introduction to Kipling's *Stalky & Co*., Marcus writes: "In no other language does the word for boy have the kind of resonance that it does in English. . . . boy is one of the sacred words of the English language; boyhood is−or for one hundred and fifty years was−a priestly state or condition; and the literature of boys and boyhood has had, for a secularized era, something of the aura of doctrinal or holy writ" (152).

(172). The novel consistently affirms the message that settlement and domestication bring decay, which is the case not just for boys. It is noteworthy that this novel manifests not only the boys' refusal to build a home but also a previous example of home-building, which ended in failure and which was conducted by a man. When exploring the island, Ralph, Jack, and Peterkin discover the "silent, lonely, uninhabited cottage" (Ballantyne 89) in which they find the skeleton of a man and of a dog. While the previous inhabitant's cottage alludes to Crusoe's house in many ways, it is far from the English home that offers domestic comfort to a middle-class man:

> The hut or cottage was rude and simple in its construction. It was not more than twelve feet long by ten feet broad, and about seven or eight feet high. It had one window, or rather a small frame in which a window might perhaps once have been, but which was now empty. The door was exceedingly low, and formed of rough boards, and the roof was covered with broad coconut and plantain leaves. But every part of it was in a state of the utmost decay. (Ballantyne 89-90)

Unlike the boys who are content with a bower, the previous inhabitant attempted to build a house on the island, but this "strange habitation" with no furniture except "a little wooden stool and an iron pot" (Ballantyne 90) only gives a warning to the boys: settlement in a foreign setting means decay, whether for boys or for men.

This lesson teaches the boys that adventurers should keep moving in the empire rather than building and maintaining a home in a particular spot. The scene in which the three boys leave the Coral Island illustrates such movement. They seem considerably

attached to the island space when paying a "farewell visit" (Ballantyne 240) to the familiar spots. Interestingly, this scene resembles the scenes in which the protagonists of Victorian public school narrative express attachment to the school setting before graduating. Just as the schoolboys visit their memorable sites and engrave their names on their desks, Ballantyne's boys carve their names on a chip of wood and fix it inside their bower. However, despite this likeness, it is not likely that they will return to their island like the Old Boys who visit their schools with nostalgia. Once they sail away from it, the Coral Island seems to get quickly and permanently erased from the narrative by being swallowed by the sea: "The shore grew rapidly more indistinct as the shades of evening fell, while our clipper bark bounded lightly over the waves. Slowly the mountaintop sank on the horizon until it became a mere speck. In another moment the sun and the Coral Island sank together into the broad bosom of the Pacific" (Ballantyne 242). This last description of the island implies that the boys will not return to it, unlike Crusoe who returns to his island at the end of the story to see how his successors have developed his colony and to help them with resources from his home country.[73]

After leaving the Coral Island the boys head for the Island of Mango, seeking to rescue Avatea, a native woman with whom they become friends earlier in the story, from heathens. At the end of the novel the boys are imprisoned, but released when Tararo, the heathen chief and Avatea's father, converts to Christianity. The novel ends with Avatea

[73] Crusoe narrates that he heard the whole story of his "Successors the Spaniards" on his island, stayed there about twenty days, and left "Supplies of all necessary things, and particularly of Arms, Powder, Shot, Cloathes, Tools, and two Workmen, which I brought from England with me, viz. a Carpenter and a Smith" (Defoe 305). His returning to the island and maintaining what he has constructed there differentiates him from Ballantyne's boys, who involve with neither building nor maintaining a home.

marrying a Christian native, wooden idols being burned to ashes, and the boy heroes sailing for England. Agruss points out that the second half of the novel adopts different generic formulas from its first half; while the first half of the novel uses the formulas of adventure narratives, the second uses those of missionary tales. According to Agruss, the break between the two portions of the novel marks the journeys in two ways; the first journey to the Coral Island enables the protagonists to enjoy the savagery of boyhood, and the second one to the Island of Mango enables their returning "back to civilization, back to Christianity, and back to Britishness from the brink of colonial otherness" (13). That is, he argues that in the second half of the novel not only the savages but the three boys are (re)connected to Christianity and to the center of the empire. While Agruss does not use the term "home-building," his argument that the boys "return" to metropolitan civilization suggests that they begin performing their role as empire-builders through missionary work.

Yet Agruss seems to overlook that Ballantyne's boys actually do not contribute to the expansion of the empire on their second foreign island. Much as they do not need to build a home on the Coral Island, they do not need to domesticate the Island of Mango because they find it already a part of the extended empire.[74] On arriving at the Island of

[74] Michelle Elleray argues that in *The Coral Island* the missionary work is connected to popular accounts of the formation of coral islands. She instances nineteenth-century British scientific debates over the formation of coral islands. The Victorian imagination associated the coral insects with the value of industriousness: "this focus on the 'least promising of animated things' can be read in the light of a wider cultural emphasis on character: rather than the genius of the exceptional individual, coral highlights the productive capacity of the ordinary individual as he or she labors dutifully and diligently" (226). Additionally, quoting E. J. Whateley's *Home Workers for Foreign Missions*, Elleray claims that the popular discourse on the coral insect was used in encouraging children to join the fundraising to purchase a missionary ship; emphasizing the child's humbleness, Whateley teaches that children still can become "little builders" just like the coral insect (228). Elleray also notes that Samuel Smiles, like Ballantyne a Scottish writer, linked the metaphor of "gardening" to missionary work, emphasizing the ordinary

Mango, Ralph, Jack, and Peterkin witness that it is occupied by two different groups; the south side of the island is a Christian village that was built by converted natives and the other side is a savage territory. Before arriving, the boys imagine their conquering the island like the "heroes in all the story books" (Ballantyne 240), but what is waiting for them is an island that is already domesticated. As soon as they approach the south side of the island to anchor off the Christian village, they see a canoe "which immediately put off on [their] rounding-to" (Ballantyne 245) as if it was waiting for them, and then get a warm welcome from a native missionary teacher, as if they are not in a foreign setting but are back home. Not only is the teacher "clad in a respectable suit of European clothes" (Ballantyne 245), but the Christian village into which he takes them imitates their home country:

> The village was about a mile in length, and perfectly straight, with a wide road down the middle, on either side of which were rows of the tufted-topped tree, whose delicate and beautiful blossoms, hanging beneath their plume-crested tops, added richness to the scene. The cottages of the natives were built beneath these trees, and were kept in the most excellent order, each having little garden in front of it, tastefully laid out and planted, while the walks were covered with black and white pebbles.

individual's contribution to God's work (226). It is true that Ballantyne draws on the popular discourse on the coral insect in his novel, but in fact the three boys do not work as "little builders," but just inhabit the coral island and the Christian village that is already formed and gardened.

> Every house had doors and Venetian windows, painted partly with lamp-black made from the candlenut, and partly with red ochre, which contrasted powerfully with the dazzling coral lime that covered the walls. On a prominent position stood a handsome church, which was quite a curiosity in its way. . . . It had six large folding doors, and twelve windows with Venetian blinds; and although a large and substantial edifice, it had been built, we were told by the teacher: in the space of two months! (Ballantyne 248)

From this foreign village the boys can recognize familiar things such as cottages with little gardens, Venetian windows and blinds, and a church. This scene echoes the scene in which they walk among trees and bushes in a garden-like setting in the Coral Island; as in the earlier scene, Ballantyne's boys do not experience a sense of displacement while walking through the Christian village for the first time. The only moment when the narrator recognizes the foreignness is when he meets the converted natives in the village. Describing how they were dressed in European style, he states: "Many of the dresses, both of women and men, were grotesque enough, being very bad imitations of the European garb; but all wore a dress of some sort or other" (Ballantyne 248). In finding their imitations "grotesque," Ralph seems to notice the gap between the imperial home and the foreign island. However, this does not prevent him from being at home on the island, which the natives themselves call a "station" (Ballantyne 246) for the missionary work.

In the penultimate chapter of *The Coral Island*, the native missionary teacher informs the imprisoned boys that "A missionary has been sent to [them], and Tararo has embraced the Christian religion" (Ballantyne 285). The boys come out of the prison and can hardly recognize the heathens' village, witnessing that in front of Tararo's house "a pile of wooden idols" are "ready to be set on fire" (Ballantyne 286) and the missionary is standing by him, beaming. Readers cannot see either the boys' or the missionary's struggle to turn the foreign island into a Christian village, but just as the church in the south side of the island was miraculously built in two months, the transformation occurs so fast in this case as well that those who came from the center of the empire do not really engage with the act of empire-building. In this sense, we can say that the boy characters do not involve themselves with home-building in either setting, which demonstrates this novel's consistent resistance to the theme of settlement. This highlights that for Ballantyne the act of empire-building is a matter of mechanical acquisition that no longer requires either individuals' physical/psychological struggle with foreignness or their attachment to a particular space.[75] In this paradigm it does not matter who went to where, but what only matters is to extend the imperial frontiers through acquiring one more island, which is fundamentally the same with other islands nearby.

[75] That the native teacher plays a more active role in the later narrative than the three boys suggests that the Christianized natives are now able to convert other natives, which makes the presence of the white boys irrelevant. At the same time, this novel conceals that the Christianized natives' relationship with the center of the empire remains complex; if the Christianized natives went to Britain, would they be considered to be "home," or do they remain "foreign"? Since they stay outside Britain in this novel, this kind of disturbing question is treated in later works such as *Treasure Island*, in which the pirates do not stay in the margins of the empire but move into its center.

Knight claims that the ending in which the boys are rescued and return home supports the evangelical theme of the novel; unlike Crusoe, they have nothing left to do other than returning from the outside world to the home after undergoing spiritual growth (17). Despite Jack's final statement that the object for which they came to the South Seas was accomplished through converting the Island of Mango, I do not think that spiritual growth is the ultimate goal of their journey, or that the ending scene marks their final return to their home country. As discussed earlier, the boys feel sorry at leaving the Coral Island, but the island is erased from the narrative once they depart for another home-like space. Significantly, the same pattern is repeated in the final scene in which the boys leave the Island of Mango. As Agruss observes, though in this scene the narrator emphasizes how he and the other boys rejoiced over returning home, at the same time he expresses sorrow over leaving the island:

> Just as we passed through the channel in the reef the natives gave us a loud cheer; and as the missionary waved his hat, while he stood on a coral rock with his grey hairs floating in the wind, we heard the single word "Farewell" borne faintly over the sea.
>
> That night, as we sat on the taffrail gazing out upon the wide sea and up into the starry firmament, a thrill of joy, strangely mixed with sadness, passed through our hearts; for we were at length "homeward bound" and were gradually leaving far behind us the beautiful, bright-green coral islands of the Pacific Ocean. (Ballantyne 291)

While the boys are "homeward bound," the details such as the natives' giving a cheer and the missionary's waving his hat makes this scene resemble the conventional scenes in which protagonists of adventure stories leave England for the wider world. Agruss concludes that this feeling of nostalgia for the foreign island is related to the boys' loss of boyhood, but I think it is rather related to the ways in which Ballantyne's boy characters relate with the island settings. That this final scene echoes the boys' first parting with England indicates that the Island of Mango has become another home for them; in a sense, they are repeating the act of leaving home by leaving the island in the South Seas. It also suggests that even though they return to England at the end of the whole narrative, their homecoming does not truly bring closure to the whole narrative, as they are likely to leave home again to find another home-like space.[76]

In short, *The Coral Island* envisions British subjects continuing travel within the homelike world, being anchored neither on the islands nor on their home country. Through the characters who settle nowhere, the novel illustrates endless adventure that enables the empire to continue expanding. What is noteworthy is that this novel betrays

[76] While the boys travel different home spaces after the narrative, their relationships with them vary. In *The Coral Island* a Christian home is built as the chief's daughter marries a converted native, but the building of the English home involves no conflict between the Old and New Worlds, and the boy heroes do not engage with the destruction of the preexisting homes. In *The Gorilla Hunters* (1861), the sequel to *The Coral Island*, Ballantyne portrays how the boys become the destroyers of the home in another foreign setting. Six years after returning from the Coral Island, Jack, Ralph, and Peterkin reunite as adults and leave for Africa to hunt wild animals. In Chapter Thirteen, they discover a female gorilla "sitting at a foot of a vine, eating the leaves" with "four young ones beside her, being engaged in the same occupation." As they kill the mother and the babies, this domestic circle is destroyed. In the same chapter Ralph finds another female gorilla with a baby gorilla in its arms; since he finds the mother and the baby disturbingly humanlike, he impulsively strikes up the muzzle of the native hunter's gun, later saying that he wanted to prevent him from committing a murder. Interestingly, the three characters are conscious of the distance between their home country and Africa, sometimes becoming uncomfortable about their outsider identities. Thus, we can see that *The Coral Island* contains more fantastic elements concerning colonialists' at-homeness than Ballantyne's other works.

contradictions within the notion that one can continue perpetual roving without losing one's home. At the end of the novel the three boys are seemingly all rescued from the foreign island with their British identities intact, but in fact Peterkin is more inclined than other two boys to lose connection with his home country. As Vanessa Smith points out, he is more attracted to a life of idleness than the other boys; that he dislikes hard work and that he lacks vigor and tenacity imply the possibility of "going native" (172). Interestingly enough, when the three boys are imprisoned in the Island of Mango, he dreams about his "happy home on the Coral Island," while Ralph dreams of his mother beckoning him to return to "home," that is, England (Ballantyne 284). That Peterkin dreams in confinement of returning to the Coral Island suggests that a male traveler may be exposed to the danger of assimilating into the foreign setting while being outside of his home country.

Whereas Marryat seems more loyal to the traditional theme of settlement than Ballantyne, the problem of at-homeness and homelessness remains ambivalent in Marrayt's novel as well. In *Masterman Ready* not everyone is rescued from the island; readers can imagine that Ready the sailor's body will become part of foreign soil in his grave. Additionally, though Juno the black servant leaves the island with the middle-class family that she serves, she suggests that she is not eager to leave it for the "home" in Australia. Just before leaving, when Mrs. Seagrave asks her whether she is "not glad to leave the island," she answers: "One time I think I would be very glad, but now I not care much," and adds, "Island very nice place, all very happy till savage come. Suppose they not kill old Ready, I not care" (Marryat 212). Thus, the traditional plotline that

describes one's separation from home and final reconnection to it cannot explain what relationship these characters establish with their home countries and with the foreign island they temporarily inhabit.

Pirates as Lost Boys

If the foreign island complicates the concept of home, the sea makes it even more complicated. This section examines how the portraits of pirates, whose home is the sea, help to unsettle the binaries of inside/outside, domestic/foreign, and boys/men, as well as questioning the meaning of growing up itself. In "Voracious Cannibals, Rapacious Pirates, and Colonial Castaways on the Empire Island" (2002), Rebecca Weaver-Hightower points out that in *Robinson Crusoe* both cannibals and pirates invade the island; Friday intuitively connects cannibal and pirate threats in his mind when the pirates and mutineers land on the island, saying, "O Master! You see English *Mans eat Prisoner as well as Savage Mans*" (Defoe 251). [77] According to Weaver-Hightower, in adventure stories the cannibals and the pirates illuminate imperial anxieties about counterforce; through depicting European heroes' establishing authority over cannibals and pirates, both Crusoe's story and the robinsonades illustrate the empire's "cultural management of two related anxieties inherent in imperial conquest: stories of the

[77] As Agruss notes, Maria Edgeworth cautions against the boy's desire to become like Crusoe or Sinbad the sailor in *Practical Education* (1799). She writes that "a boy, who at seven years old longs to be Robinson Crusoe, or Sinbad the Sailor, may at seventeen, remain the same taste for adventure and enterprise."Agruss concludes that by linking Crusoe, a white British adventurer, with Sinbad, an Arab pirate, she expresses concern over the possibility that living outside one's home country for too long would make one "go native" (7).

castaway's successful defense of himself and island from cannibals helped to assuage fears of indigenous rebellion, while plots of the defense against pirates helped to manage fears of having colonies stolen away by competing European colonizers" (82).

Additionally, Weaver-Hightower argues that the protagonists of the adventure stories reaffirm the authority of the Old World by refusing to follow the ways of cannibals and pirates that mirror the values and cultural codes of the Old World as inferior others. Weaver-Hightower notes that there is a contrast between the portraits of Ralph and the pirate captain in the frontispiece illustration from a 1958 edition of *The Coral Island*; not only is the pirate dressed in a more exotic costume, but also he has a darker complexion (88). Through this contrast between the hero and the pirate, Ballantyne helps to affirm the nineteenth-century idea that an abject lifestyle can make one go native. In *The Coral Island*, because the pirates got so tanned on the sea, they look similar to the natives of the South Pacific, and Ralph the narrator states that the pirates turned into "white savages" (Ballantyne 191), noting that they have no moral standards. Yet Ballantyne's boy heroes stick to the codes of their home country despite their contact with uncivilized acts. While Ralph is attracted by the pirates' community when he is forced to enter their ship, he demonstrates that he can be a proper English gentleman by resisting temptation (Weaver-Hightower 92). Similarly, Smith maintains that the pirates of *The Coral Island* illustrate a state of "degeneracy" from European civilization that the three boy characters avoid through self-discipline (169).

Agreeing with Weaver-Hightower's claim that cannibals and pirates both function as the mirror of the Old World, I propose that the two figures need to be

differentiated from each other. Pirates play a much more complicated role in adventure stories than confirming the empire's authority over overseas territories. Importantly, in *The Coral Island* the cannibals' savageness turns out to be no real threat to imperial conquest as they convert to Christianity, while the pirates' "not returning" to the values of the Old World remains disturbing throughout the story. Whereas Ralph finds the foreign landscape and the islanders familiar, he recognizes foreignness in the European pirates. That the pirate captain claims he is not a pirate but a sandalwood trader also makes their relationship both with their home countries and with the boy characters ambivalent. Building on critics such as Joseph Bristow and Patrick Brantlinger, who have noted how pirates and savage islanders are both presented as threats to the boys, Smith argues that the pirates pose a greater but less apparent threat to the boys than the islanders through reminding them of the possibility of their own degeneracy (171). As Smith puts it, in *The Coral Island* "the pirate captain would prove immune to missionary activity" and "his soul is irretrievably lost" (177). Instead of being reformed, the pirates suddenly disappear from the narrative. Although readers can suspect that they were all killed by the savages in the scene in which Ralph recognizes their voices in the darkness−"another and another shriek of agony" (Ballantyne 218)−no one can answer whether or not some of them are alive out there in the sea after that moment. While Ballantyne chooses to quickly wipe out the pirates from the narrative instead of contemplating their disturbing aspects in depth, the problem of what happens to the rovers who do not return home remains unanswered in the novel.

As Weaver-Hightower observes, "as denizens of the imperial borderlands, pirates and cannibals similarly help to mark the empire's (and the island's) boundaries" (86). Instead of discussing the difference between the pirate and the cannibal, she concludes that they are both marginalized figures. Yet it is important to note that only the pirate, who has more mobility than the cannibal, is associated with the imperial anxiety about being intruded upon from outside. In the scene in which Jack and Peterkin talk about pirates' nature, Jack emphasizes both uprootedness and mobility: "These villains never stay long on shore. The sea is their home, so you may depend upon it that they won't stay more than a day or two at the furthest" (Ballantyne 167). Unlike the islanders who are confined to the islands, the pirates are presented as mobile in adventure stories, and while Ballantyne's pirates only wander outside Britain, in *Treasure Island* Stevenson's pirates return with their ambiguous identities, thereby unsettling the borders of the empire.

According to Audrey Murfin, the anxiety about being intruded from the margin of the empire was prevalent in the period of imperial expansion: "The anxiety that Europeans felt that the culture, and disease, of colonized peoples would serve to return and reinfect the imperial center has been well established" (52). She adds that Stevenson had greater anxiety about the corruption of Pacific cultures. According to Murfin, Stevenson expresses interest in "borders" in his writings such as *In the South Seas.* Remarking that he wrote this book based on his trip to the South Seas, which began in 1888 and lasted until his death in 1894, Murfin maintains that this trip made him develop an interest in geological, cultural, and biological border-crossing and that he was

fascinated with borders of coral that can be crossed by ocean animals specifically (33). He observed that there are many crescent-shaped structures of coral atoll in the South Seas and that those structures have two sides: the lagoon side and the ocean side. Stevenson believed that the borders of coral protect the domestic from the outside; noting that the shells in the beach of the lagoon look different from those in the beach of the ocean, he concluded that those in the ocean side show signs of disease or corruption (39). This claim turned out to be incorrect, but it highlights that he was interested in the notions of protective boundaries and of contamination from the outside. This explains why he claimed that Pacific cultures should be protected from colonial conquest (Murfin 41).

It is true that Stevenson criticized the empire's intruding upon the island communities in the South Seas, but I argue that *Treasure Island* describes Britain's being intruded upon by the foreign as well as critiquing British subjects' becoming homeless through overseas occupation.[78] The novel is set in mid-eighteenth-century England. Jim

[78] Contrasting Stevenson's *A Child's Garden of Verses* with Rossetti's *Sing-Song*, Carol Cedar Amelinckx argues that Stevenson and Rossetti hold opposing views of childhood. Not only are Stevenson's poems written from the child's viewpoint, but they also have child speakers express a spirit of freedom, while dreaming of escaping bedrooms and engaging with adventures in faraway places (58-59). Interestingly, in *Sing-Song* the sea is portrayed not as a site for adventure, but as a dangerous place that might separate one from one's home. We can see that Rossetti identifies the sea as unstable, unfamiliar, and unpredictable, contrasting it with the land−the safe place in which there is no wind or sea wave to shake the values of the British society. In this way she associates the sea with the sense of displacement and homelessness. In *Sing-Song*, there is a poem accompanied by an illustration of the stormy sea. Rossetti describes the sea as an unstable place, contrasting waves of the sea with a horse:

> The horses of the sea
> Rear a foaming crest,
> But the horses of the land
> Serve us the best.
>
> The horses of the land
> Munch corn and clover,
> While the foaming sea-horses

Hawkins, the innkeeper's son, begins his narrative explaining how his father took the pirate Billy Bones into the Admiral Benbow Inn. Billy dies of a stroke after another pirate's visit, and when Jim and his mother open his sea-chest they discover a map that offers direction to a foreign island where a deceased pirate's treasure is buried. Jim sets sail for the island as a cabin boy with Squire Trelawney and Doctor Livesey, fights the crew that are in fact pirates, finds treasure, and returns to England. It is worth noting that the novel begins with describing how Billy Bones shows up in front of the inn and how his sea-song begins filling the interior. In this novel Billy is not the only invader of the inn, but Jim is soon forced to take into the parlor a blind pirate, who clings to him with mighty force and orders him to "lead [him] straight up to [Billy Bones]" (Stevenson 27). He then witnesses a number of pirates trespassing on the property in the night. All those pirates are differentiated from the townspeople by their foreign looks; Billy's "nut-brown" skin, his sea-chest, and the blind pirate's sea-cloak mark them as alien to those

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Toss and turn over.

Comparing sea waves to horses, she suggests that sailing for the unknown world on the back of "the horses of the sea" is dangerous. Furthermore, in another poem in the same book she contrasts boats and ships with clouds and bridges, which she can see in the land, thereby describing settled life/land superior than roving/sea:

Boats sail on the rivers,
And ships sail on the seas;
But clouds that sail across the sky
Are prettier far than these.

There are bridges on the rivers,
As pretty as you please;
But the bow that bridges heaven,
And overtops the trees,
And builds a road from earth to sky,
Is prettier far than these.

While I agree with Amelinckx's remark that Stevenson identifies the sea as adventurous space, I argue that he shares with Rossetti the concern that the sea might cause displacement and homelessness to travelers.

who are settled in England. Furthermore, the pirate characters blur the boundary between inside/outside and domestic/foreign, claiming their rightful place in the British society. In *The Novel and the Sea* (2012) Margaret Cohen argues that the seafaring life was imbued with glory as the seas have become the modern world's dynamic frontier (3). The narrator of *Treasure Island* describes how the townspeople are both afraid of and attracted to Billy's adventure stories; they even express admiration for him, "saying there was the sort of man that made England terrible at sea" (Stevenson 8). Also, in the scene in which the blind pirate visits Admiral Benbow for the first time, he identifies himself as a national hero, saying that he lost sight "in the gracious defence of his native country, England" (Stevenson 26). This is consistent with Bradley Deane's comment that while in mid-Victorian fictions pirates were portrayed as "the foils of all that is decent, Christian, and British" (694), they came to serve as the heroes' "doubles" in late Victorian novels (693). In short, just as the imperial enterprise results in a "dynamic frontier," both the border between inside and outside and the distinction between the national hero and the nation's degenerate son are complicated.[79]

More importantly, Stevenson shows how Long John Silver, the sea-cook who turns out to be a pirate, is already embedded in British society even before the journey begins. In the scene in which Jim meets him for the first time, he finds him a "clean and pleasant-tempered landlord" with "cheerful spirits" and "intelligent" looks (Stevenson

[79] Monica Cohen also remarks that Jim's mother discovers the coins of various countries in Billy Bones's sea-chest and tries to gather the English currency only because she recognizes only its value (159-160). This suggests that she is confined to domestic life, while the project of imperial expansion causes frontiers of different countries mix together just as the jumble of coins symbolizes (Cohen 159-160). By leaving his mother and the inn behind and venturing out into the outer world, Jim comes to engage with this project.

68). Noting that the gentlemen from respectable society and the pirates react to the idea of buried treasure in similar ways, Naomi J. Wood observes that *Treasure Island* unsettles the dividing line between "gentlemen born"/"gentlemen of fortune" and the establishment/the antiestablishment. Comparing Silver to money that bears no stamp, Wood claims that he unsettles the authority of the establishment by counterfeiting the values of the gentry (72). As Wood notes, Silver can infiltrate the respectable society with the aid of his genteelness, but at the same time, he can act as a pirate when necessary. Just as he unsettles class border with his mixed identities, Silver helps to blur the border between the domestic and the foreign by moving between the two worlds.

As David H. Jackson notes, the pirates are associated with boyishness in *Treasure Island*; they are depicted as bad boys who act impulsively and irresponsibly. According to Jackson, Jim is conscious of class structure and hierarchy; early in the novel he marks the difference between Doctor Livesey and the townspeople, emphasizing the former's moral and intelligent superiority over the latter (29). Jackson then argues that Silver differentiates himself from other pirates with his ability to imitate adult behavior and language, adding that the pirates contrast with the gentlemen who are presented as adults (29). I do not agree that this novel confirms the binaries of children/adults and of pirates/gentlemen, as the gentlemen present boyish qualities once they jump into the treasure hunting. We can see that the Doctor, Squire, and Jim are all excited before departing, all being familiar with the romance of sea adventures that was

reproduced in toy theaters for children in late nineteenth century. [80] As Monica Cohen argues, Squire Trelawney and Doctor Livesey respond to the treasure map like men at play; not only does the Squire dress in picturesque costume but he also prepares for the journey to the island using popular imagination regarding adventure stories (163). Additionally, Deane rightly observes that when Jim confronts the pirate Israel Hands and wins the *Hispaniola* from him, he describes this fight like a "boy's game" (Stevenson 223). Arguing that "Stevenson is less interested in differentiating the two characters than in emphasizing their mutual facility in this deadly game" (700), Deane claims that Jim's boyish instinct and his familiarity with childhood play help him to win.

After landing on the island, the pirates and the gentlemen transform into players of the same game. As Deane argues, the whole narrative of the novel is dominated by the play ethic, and the buried treasure becomes the "prize" for the game that the players all pursue (699). Significantly, the island setting is not portrayed as a place suitable for permanent settlement. It is different from the home-like landscape of the Coral Island, and the characters do not expect it to function like a home either. As soon as landing,

[80] Drawing on Stevenson's autobiographical essay, "My First Book," U. C. Knoepflmacher notes that Stevenson had not only a "schoolboy," his stepson, but also a "child-like adult," his father, as a collaborator in producing the treasure map, which triggered the whole project of writing *Treasure Island* ("Boy-Orphans" 8). That the treasure map was first produced as a toy for both a boy and two (boyish) men suggests the theme of "play" is important in this novel. Also, Monica Cohen notes that Stevenson was greatly attracted to late-Victorian toy theaters that featured fictional pirates, suggesting that he made use of his knowledge about them in the novel (165). In this sense, we can say that not only the gentlemen characters who actually set sail for the island but Stevenson also engages with the play of treasure hunting through writing the story. Similarly, Margaret Cohen notes that by the early nineteenth century the eighteenth-century maritime picaresque, in which protagonist travels unknown oceans and coasts, declined because there remained few unexplored zones, and that nineteenth-century writers imagined islands off the map, seeking to have a dialogue with the past romance. Stevenson's island with a treasure map can be considered as an example (143).

Jim finds the island unpleasant and dangerous; it is full of "grey, melancholy woods" and its plants have "a kind of poisonous brightness" (Stevenson 111). In this sense, this island setting is far from a second home; rather, it functions as a playground that is tailored for a survival game.[81] It is interesting to note how the gentlemen's party−Doctor, Squire, Captain, and honest sailors−occupy a "stout log-house" (Stevenson 138) as soon as they arrive on the island and how it differs both from a traditional house and from an idyllic bower:

> This was how it was: a spring of clear water rose almost at the top of a knoll. Well on the knoll, and enclosing the spring, they had clapped a stout log-house, fit to hold two score people on a pinch, and loopholed for musketry on every side. All round this they had cleared a side space, and then the thing was completed by a paling six feet high, without door or opening, too strong to pull down without time and labour, and too open to shelter the besiegers. The people in the log-house had them in every way; they stood quiet in shelter and shot the others like partridges. All they wanted was a good watch and food; for, short of a complete surprise, they might have held the place against a regiment. (Stevenson 139)

[81] Noting that the natural landscape of the island is far from romantic, Brian Gibson argues that it shows how Jim enters an unromantic world of men. According to Gibson, the landscape which is "less clear-cut, with sandy, undulating areas, contorted trees, twisted evergreen oaks, bramble-like thickets, and a steaming marsh" embodies the ambiguity of the moral choices that are waiting for him in men's world: "Jim literally plunges into the natural landscape to begin his quest for mature selfhood, braving the foliage 'of poisonous brightness' (120) to rush 'into the nearest thicket'; although Silver and the others call out to him to come back, he runs headlong into the depths of the island−an adolescent rushing towards adulthood" (15). While it is true that the setting of the island is depicted through Jim's eyes, I think that the landscape of the island reflects more than the moral ambiguity and the boy's psychological state. Rather, it indicates that the foreign island functions as a playground for all the characters who land there.

As Gibson notes, the log-house does not fulfill Jim's fancies of idyllic dells at all (16). Far from offering a home feeling to its inhabitants, it looks as if it was built just for battle. Jim observes that the log-house is slowly being submerged in sand as the soil is washed away, which highlights that both the log-house and the island setting allow one to stay only temporarily.[82]

The image of the log-house sinking in sand also signals that one may be imprisoned to the foreign island if one fails to leave it soon. The characters who set sail aboard the ship *Hispaniola* all struggle for the treasure, but at the same time, they struggle to return to England, knowing that only winners can return. From the beginning, Jim is conscious that adventures might separate him from his home and home country. In her reading of *Treasure Island*, Loxley contends that Jim escapes domesticity and confinement for the world of adventure and freedom, claiming that Stevenson emphasizes the stifling aspect of the early setting of the story, the inn. Yet I argue that the travel to Treasure Island offers him not only freedom but a sense of displacement and homelessness. As Loxley acknowledges, Jim gets jealous over a boy who occupies his position beside his mother while he is preparing for the journey (155). Loxley then claims that this moment of "orphaning" is necessary for Jim's quest for manhood as it enables him to find a substitute father, Silver. However, it is important to note that Jim

[82] Marah Gubar also remarks that in this novel the island is far from an inviting environment. Claiming that Ben Gunn the marooned pirate is a parody version of Crusoe, Gubar points out that Gunn never produces cheese though there are wild goats on his island just as in Crusoe's (76). In connecting it to the fact that no one engages with cultivating the island in this novel, Gubar argues that Stevenson challenges the belief that the European civilization can be reconstructed on a foreign island so easily (79).

keeps longing to return to his home/home country after being exiled from it. Whereas in *The Coral Island* the noise of the sea evokes adventurous spirit in the boy characters, in *Treasure Island* it disturbs Jim, reminding him of the distance between the island and the home. For example, when he sleeps alone in the skiff he gets from Ben Gunn, the noise of the open sea makes him dream of the home: "When he gradually weariness grew upon me; a numbness, an occasional stupor, fell upon my mind even in the midst of terrors; until sleep at last supervened, and in my sea-tossed coracle I lay and dreamed of home and the old 'Admiral Benbow'" (Stevenson 199). Thus, we can see that the open sea does not signal the prospect of freedom for him, but rather, functions as a wall that isolates him.

As Gibson points out, after acquiring the treasure Jim watches three of the pirate crew being marooned on the island while he sails away from it with the gentlemen and with Silver who changes his side at the last moment. Describing how miserable they looked, Jim empathizes with the pirates more deeply than ever. This scene implies that he is afraid of being exiled to the island like them. I want to add that this scene highlights the late-Victorian anxiety that colonial enterprise might bring about displacement and homelessness instead of extension of the home. Sailing away from the island, Jim gets greatly relieved as it seems to sink into the sea: "After that, we kept under cover of the bulwarks, and when next I looked out they had disappeared from the spit, and the spit itself had almost melted out of sight in the growing distance. That was, at last, the end of that; and before noon, to my inexpressible joy, the highest rock of Treasure Island had sunk into the blue round of sea" (Stevenson 300). This echoes the

scenes from *The Coral Island* in which the islands in the South Seas are swallowed as the boys leave them behind. While in *The Coral Island* such moments offer travelers freedom by allowing them to seek new space endlessly, in *Treasure Island* it hints at the protagonists' fear about being confined to the prison-like foreign settings.

Naming *Treasure Island* an anti-adventure story and depicting its adventure as "terrifying, traumatizing, and ethically problematic" (70), Gubar claims that the novel is differentiated from adventure stories that seek to seduce boys into the project of imperial expansion. According to Gubar, Jim is fundamentally vulnerable and passive even though he often seems to assert selfhood during adventures, while functioning as a "pawn in someone else's game" (70-72). Then she asserts that as the only boy he is flattered to collaborate with the adults, the more powerful party. Yet I do not think that Jim is the only one who plays a vulnerable pawn in this novel. Rather, all the players who are marginalized in the British society become vulnerable in the treasure-hunting game. As discussed above, it is Jim's fear of homelessness and displacement that enables him to empathize with the pirates that are marginalized like him. Importantly, the treasure-hunting game functions differently for the gentlemen and for the pirates; even though the gentlemen and the pirates engage in the same game, the gentlemen only temporarily escape both their settled place in British society and their identities as middle-class men, while the latter are presented as Lost Boys who have no home to return to and who dream of escaping their homeless state through winning the game.

According to Deane, originally child's play was defined as an educational tool in Victorian society, but by the late nineteenth century it was valued for its own sake; as the

empire ceased to seek idealistic ends, it required its heroes to seek endless play instead of growing up. Through glamorizing the figure of the boy who never grows up, the empire seeks to dominate perpetually (690-91). Connecting the late Victorian ideological crisis with the shift in the conception of childhood play, Deane argues that *Treasure Island* illustrates the late Victorian play ethic by portraying the pirates/gentlemen and boys/men engaging with non-developmental adventure. On the one hand, the treasure-hunting game of the novel seems to take the form of the play that Deane describes. Its players do not engage with "development" of nation/self but with endless circulation and redistribution of the prize. Additionally, both the imperial geography and the British society seem unchanged; the characters do not transform the foreign island into a home space while inhabiting it, and as Wood claims, the ending of the novel seems to reaffirm the triumph of the settled class hierarchy. In the last chapter Jim the narrator informs what happened to the main characters after returning:

> All of us had an ample share of the treasure, and used it wisely or foolishly, according to our nature. Captain Smollett is now retired from the sea. Gray not only saved his money, but, being suddenly smit with a desire to rise, also studied his profession; and he is now mate and part owner of a fine full-rigged ship; married besides, and the father of a family. As for Ben Gunn, he got a thousand pounds, which he spent or lost in three weeks, or, to be exact, in nineteen days, for he was back begging on the twentieth. Then he was given a lodge to keep, exactly as he had feared upon the island; and he still

lives, a great favorite, though something of a butt, with the country boys, and a notable singer in church on Sundays and saints' days. (Stevenson 302-303)

As Wood points out, the characters either get promoted to the middle classes or remain marginal; unlike Gunn, Gray the honest seaman rises to the middle class with the aid of the money that he earns through adventure (75). Similarly, Christopher Parkes contends that the treasure is taken into the middle-class world and then redistributed as pension at the end of the novel. That Ben Gunn loses his money demonstrates that even though the pirates physically intrude across the nation's border and the inn's boundary at the beginning, in the end only those who belong to the respectable society and those who support their values secure their place, while the pirates remain outside the home and home country.

Nevertheless, I want to argue that in this novel the game is developmental in some ways. Morgenstern points out that children's literature contains a tension between the idyllic and the didactic. He quotes his own book, *Playing with Books: A Study of the Reader as Child* (2009): "the idyllic is nothing but the assertion of the value of play; the didactic is nothing but a warning about the dangers of play" (79); and adds; "Of course, play always comes to an end and the didactic triumphs in the assertion of middle-class values, but, while the novel is in play, it opens up to possibilities outside of those values" (298). According to this paradigm, the treasure-hunting game of *Treasure Island* asserts the value of endless play in its dominant narrative but it is not altogether idyllic in the sense that the pirate Long John Silver seeks to quit the play through winning the game. As one of the game players, or borrowing Gubar's term, a "pawn," Silver disrupts both

the border of the imperial center and the class structure of the British society. Not only does he escape Treasure Island, but in Jim's imagination he also lives a comfortable domestic life with his parrot "Captain Flint" and the "old missis," who is also called the "negress." In noting this particular scene, Knoepflmacher claims that Stevenson himself came to dislike this ending with the belief that Silver's forming a "transgressive family unit" ("Boy-Orphans" 6) just echoes the conventional Victorian endings that portray the main characters' marriage. Yet I argue that this ending poses a threat to the dominant discourse of late Victorian Britain instead of reaffirming it. Interestingly, Silver shares many qualities with Ready of *Masterman Ready*; they are both seamen who are skilled both at sailing and at domestic activities, and they are both placed outside authentic British middle-class masculinity even though they have middle-class attainments and gentility. As a homeless figure, Ready humbly remains in the margin of the domestic space and of the empire throughout the story. In contrast, Silver struggles to get into the center of the empire, and in the end he is likely to build an alternative family with the aid of the money that he takes away with him when fleeing away.

What makes the two characters' parallel more interesting is the presence of the non-white female characters who share the homeless and marginalized states with them. Examining how *Treasure Island* betrays the history of transatlantic slavery under the narrative of a boyish play, Andrew Loman claims that the novel makes significant use of the racial difference between Silver and his wife. Considering his wife as a "liminal figure, poised between Englishness and its others" (7), Loman argues that her blackness reminds readers of the fact that the slave trade was legal in eighteenth-century Britain.

Noting that Silver also has a cosmopolitan parrot who has "been at Madagascar, and at Malabar, and Surinam, and Providence, and Portobello," he concludes that while some might read the interracial marriage as a sign of the nation's corruption or "decay," Silver's relation with the black wife and the parrot indicates his "conflicted relation to−if not betrayal of−British values" (4). Building on Loman's claim, I want to add that the ending, which imagines the marginalized figures' domestic life, both betrays and challenges the ways in which the imperial enterprise causes homelessness. Unlike Ready the sailor and Juno the black servant, Silver and his black wife seek to become "insiders," and building an alternative family unit with the money that Silver earns overseas and the wife manages, they complicate not only their relationship with the home but also the meaning of home and nation itself.[83]

While Silver of *Treasure Island* returns to the home and the home country, he can neither fully accept the British values nor become at home like those who have never been marginalized, since he returns with an alternative version of nationhood and British masculinity. The portrait of the pirate who returns and yet does not fully return highlights the unresolved tensions that *Masterman Ready* and *The Coral Island* also contain under their dominant narratives of at-homeness. The problem of at-homeness and homelessness gets more complicated in colonies that are even more distant from the imperial center, as will be discussed in the next chapter.

[83] Troy Boone refutes Loxley's claim that for the pirates the treasure ensures only a "temporary financial security" (73): "However, this claim does not adequately account for the political implications of Stevenson's representation of piracy as the attempt, on the part of a working-class group opposed to middle-class regulations and laws, to use imperial adventuring as a means of class mobility" (73).

CHAPTER V

THE INDIAN-BORN WHITE BOY'S QUEST FOR HOME: KIM AS A TURN-OF-THE-CENTURY BILDUNGSROMAN

> So, at sixteen years and nine months, but looking four or five years older, and adorned with real whiskers which the scandalised Mother abolished within one hour of beholding, I found myself at Bombay where I was born, moving among sights and smells that made me deliver in the vernacular sentences whose meaning I knew not. Other Indian-born boys have told me how the same thing happened to them. There were yet three or four days' rail to Lahore, where my people lived. After these, my English years fell away, nor ever, I think, came back in full strength. That was a joyous home-coming.
> -Rudyard Kipling, *Something of Myself*

At the beginning of the third chapter of *Something of Myself* (1937), his autobiography, Rudyard Kipling recalls how he returned to his birthplace on 18 October 1882. As suggested in the epigraph above, he does not perceive Britain as a true home even though he was sent there from India at the age of five, but instead imagines India as his true home. Kipling depicts the triumphant moment when his homecoming coincides with his arrival at manhood; proudly stating that he can pass for an older person, he fashions himself as a grown man who returns home with "real whiskers." Although he announces that his "English years fell away," it is not certain whether he will be able to find a new home in India. While he still remembers vernacular sentences that he used to use before leaving, he confesses that he does not know their meaning. Additionally, as his biographer Charles Allen notes, he soon realizes that his imagined India is not the same as the real India; on his train trip to Lahore, he is surprised at the fact that "the shoreline and skyline of the Bombay of his childhood had altered beyond recognition" (119). This scene highlights how the problem of at-homeness is important for Kipling.

Kipling's *Kim* (1910), the primary text of this chapter, is the story of Kim or Kimball O'Hara, an Anglo-Irish orphan who has been born and brought up in colonial India and who undergoes many adventures with a Tibetan lama who is on a pilgrimage to find a sacred place of Buddhism, or "the River of the Arrow." Joining the lama's pilgrimage as his disciple, Kim is also trained as a spy to participate in the Great Game−the military conflict and espionage of the late nineteenth century caused by the rivalry between Britain and Russia for control over India. Being "[a]t once a spy thriller, a picaresque adventure story, a maturation story, and a quest romance" (Sullivan 442), *Kim* contains multiple layers that have attracted the attention of Kipling's critics.

Many postcolonial critics have focused on the problem of hybridity and mimicry in their readings of this novel. For them the protagonist's cultural hybridity and capacity to mimic other characters/cultures have been considered key factors for understanding his relationship with the setting, colonial India. For instance, in his introduction to *Kim*, published by Penguin Books in 1987, Edward Said famously argues that Kim's depiction as a hybrid serves to highlight the imperialist ideology of this novel. As Said observes, Kim travels across India without interruption with the aid of his talent in disguise (347). During his journey with the Tibetan lama, no Indian recognizes him as a Sahib if only he paints his face black and "slips into Hindu or Mohammedan garb" (5). He can also make his whiteness recognized the moment he takes off his Indian clothes. According to Said, Kim's capacity to switch identities makes him a colonial subject who utilizes knowledge of other culture with perfect freedom. Said comments that Kipling's "ideal India" is "full of possibilities" for the Indian-born hero ("Imperialist" 341, 346):

> Part of the boy's strength is his deep knowledge, almost instinctive in its wellspring, of his difference from the Indians around him; after all he has a special amulet given him during infancy, and unlike all the other boys he plays with—this is established right at the novel's opening—he is endowed, through natal prophecy, with a unique fate of which he wishes to make everyone aware. Later this develops explicitly into his awareness of being a sahib, a white man, and whenever he wavers there is someone to remind him of the basic fact that he is indeed a sahib, with all the rights and privileges of that quite special rank. (345)

Said notes that Kim's "unique fate" includes not only the capacity to move across India freely, but also a white man's privilege over the Indian natives that is given to him from birth, concluding that Kipling's portrait of India reflects the "wish-fantasy of someone who would like to think that everything is possible, that one can go anywhere and be anything" (349). Similarly, in *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (1995), Anne McClintock reads *Kim* as a "narrative of racial passing" (69). Noting that Kim can pass as Indian through cross-dressing, McClintock argues that his cultural hybridity is presented as "the privilege of whiteness" (70), which does not unsettle colonial discourse, but rather helps to confirm racial hierarchy. Don Randall is another critic who shares the thought that Kim's hybridity marks him as a member of a superior race. Arguing that his ability to mingle with the Indians "signals his special capacity for the bearing of confidential information, for surreptitious surveillance, for cross-cultural information-gathering" (111), Randall concludes that the white orphan

boy's hybridity eventually allows him to serve the empire after trying out various identities and cultures among native Indians.

In addition to the concept of the "hybrid," "mimicry" has been considered a useful concept for comprehending Kim's position in the imperial structure. In "Of Mimicry and Man" (1994), for example, Homi Bhabha famously argues that the colonized subject who mimics the colonizer is "almost the same, but not quite" (86). According to Bhabha, the imperfect mimicry of the colonized people affirms the colonizers' superiority over the colonized, in that their authority may be challenged if the colonized people can become entirely the same with them (87). Simultaneously, however, Bhabha points out that the colonized's imperfect mimicry has the power to threaten colonial structure, because it might demonstrate that the colonized people do not lose their unique culture despite colonization (86). Drawing on Bhabha's concept of mimicry in his reading of *Kim*, Abdul R. JanMohamed claims that *Kim* displays "manichean dichotomies" (79) that dominate the imperial world. His main contention is that Kipling emphasizes the fundamental difference between Kim and native Indians with the idea of mimicry. Comparing and contrasting Kim with Hurree Babu, the Western-educated Bengali who like him is talented at mimicking, JanMohamed argues that their characterizations reflect "the manichean world of the colonizer and the colonized, of the master and the slave" in which the "unified, fixed differences" of the two cannot be overcome (70). Pursuing the same line of thinking, McClintock uses the concepts of both hybridity and mimicry in *Imperial Leather*. Like JanMohamed, contrasting Babu's mimicry with that of Kim, she writes: "He is Bhabha's Anglicized

man who is not English; Kim, on the other hand, is the Indianized man who is not Indian. Evidently, passing 'down' the cultural hierarchy is permissible; passing 'up' is not" (70). That is, the Indian man cannot become the same with the object of his mimicking, while the white man can perfectly mimic the Indian while securing his own white identity.

Preexisting scholarship on hybridity and mimicry has provided a useful paradigm for understanding the elements of imperial discourse in *Kim*. However, by presuming that the protagonist's connection to his father's country remains intact, these investigations fail to recognize the complicated position that he occupies in the imperial world. Is Kim really a hybrid? Does he become "the Indianized man who is not Indian," as McClintock puts it, or a man who seeks to mimic the British but who is not the same? Does he ever return to his people? If so, who are those people? To answer these questions, I propose to focus on the concept of homelessness/at-homeness instead of those of hybridity and mimicry. As Alan Johnson argues in *Out of Bounds: Anglo-Indian Literature and the Geography of Displacement* (2011), both Anglo-Indian and postcolonial writers were greatly interested in the idea of divided location. According to Johnson, during the period of empire building, Anglo-Indian writers attempted to understand their own ambivalent identity in the context of home. Assuming that Britishness is an imagined concept, he claims that they struggled to figure out how close to or far from home they were while being conscious of their own bicultural location. As I will be discussing, Kipling, too, struggles to locate himself and other Indian-born

people within the imperial world, and this struggle is presented through the theme of quest for home in *Kim*.

Kipling is characterized by his consistent interest in the problem of "belonging." In reading his autobiography, John McBratney observes that he self-consciously strove to establish homes while traveling in different countries including India, the United States, and Japan. As McBratney notes, Kipling was conscious of his own background as the native-born and as the author who delivers knowledge about the margin of the empire to those at home. Drawing on Benedict Anderson's idea of "imagined community," McBratney argues that Kipling attempted to imagine Britain as a "large, various, yet interrelated cultural and geopolitical whole" and that he fundamentally sought to draw an expanded vision of the home country by mediating the center and the periphery of the empire (xv). Although I agree that Kipling had a divided self as Indian-born, I do not think that Kipling portrays an expanded version of home with Britain in its center; rather, he might be imagining colonial India as his true home. Significantly, McBratney notes that, in a letter to Charles Eliot Norton, Kipling once called England "the most marvellous of all foreign countries that I have ever been in" (qtd. 8). This suggests that his memories about colonial India complicated his relationship with the "home" and that the sense of homelessness and displacement was a primary concern for him both in his personal life and in his career as a writer.

In addition to the notion of "hybrid," Said uses "exile" as a key concept in literary criticism. This concept may help us to better understand Kipling's conception of home/home country. In reading Said's *Out of Place* (1999) as the "chronicle of a

displaced and transnational subject" (128), Sobia Khan attempts to tell a displaced person from an exile. According to Khan, even though Said identifies himself as a scholar of exile, he is in fact not an exile but a displaced man. In his essay "Reflections on Exile," Said defines an exile as someone who is forced to live outside a true home. Khan also notes that in the same essay Said emphasizes the pleasures of being an exile, stating that "[t]here is also a particular sense of achievement in acting as if one were at home wherever one happens to be" (qtd 135). Thus, it can be said that Said in fact is identifying with not an exile who longs to return home but with a displaced person who embraces the sense of displacement and homelessness as a part of his/her own identity. David Copperfield and the Old Boys of the public school can be classified as exiles in that they are forced to stay outside of specific places, the former desiring to return to the idealized home and the latter to the public schools. In contrast, Kim has no desire to "return to" Britain, if returning to a country where he has never been is ever possible. In this sense, though Kim becomes displaced and homeless during his journey, he is never an exile.

Another concept that can be useful to the issue of homelessness/at-homeness is ex-patriotism. Ben Grant and Kaori Nagai discuss the difference between "exile" and "ex-patriot."[84] Reading Kipling's poem "Christmas in India" as an expression of homesickness, they argue that this poem depicts the condition of the Anglo-Indians who

[84] Grant and Nagai use the term "ex-patriot" instead of "expatriate." In defining ex-patriotism as "the necessary absence of the patria, the impossibility of returning there once and for all" (195), they claim that Kipling's Kim exemplifies an ex-patriot by continuing his "endless deferred journey to England" throughout the novel instead of returning to the imperial home (196).

are caught between the two countries; while they envision England as Home, they do not figure themselves as part of it, for "Home comes into being for them as something both familiar and foreign, an absent presence which they can only love from afar. Were they truly to return there, the nation would, in this sense, cease to exist" (192). In other words, these people would not reconnect to England even if they physically return to it, and this kind of irremediable severance makes them "ex-patriots" rather than "exiles." As I will be suggesting, while many adult characters in *Kim* expect Kim to return home, it is not certain to where he should return, and the ending scene of the novel makes it ambiguous whether the lost boy will eventually return to the "home" country. In this light, I believe that the concept of homelessness disturbs the assumption that *Kim* affirms the binary structure of colonizer/colonized and center/margin of the empire.

The first section of this chapter explores what makes Kim feel at home in colonial India and how his perception of India and Britain helps to disrupt the hierarchy between the center and the margin of the empire. The previous chapters of this dissertation investigated how the construction of masculinity is combined with the issue of nation-building in the novels in which boy characters grow up on their journeys from home to outer world. Those characters are homeless not just because they physically leave home but also because they keep struggling to recover ties with the space they leave. I also have demonstrated that whether it is a middle-class home, a public school, or in an inhabited island, the representation of those specific places reflects the place that they perceive as home in some ways, and their struggle to remain connected to home affects their growing up. Unlike those characters, Kim's site for adventure is not

separated from home, while the English culture remains fundamentally foreign to him. To examine the way Kim engages with home, I read the novel alongside other Kipling stories, "Baa Baa Black Sheep" (1888) and the Mowgli stories from *The Jungle Book* (1894) and from *The Second Jungle Book* (1895), comparing and contrasting Kim with the two other protagonists. Unlike Punch, the protagonist of "Sheep," and Mowgli, Kim does not leave home; instead he experiences at-homeness while being exposed to multiple environments during his journey across colonial India.

As a Bildungsroman, *Kim* traces a boy's transition from boyhood to manhood, but the theme of male development is presented in some unusual ways in this novel; instead of passing through a rite of passage to acquire British masculinity, Kim invents his own identity in India. The second section of this chapter examines how Kim's relationship with home gets complicated through the process in which he loses and recovers at-homeness, which also reflects the shift in the conception of nationhood at the turn of the century. Additionally, by comparing and contrasting him with other displaced characters in the novel, I will argue that the novel suggests an alternative nationality through Kim's character, despite the imperialist frame surrounding the novel. This dissertation has traced several boy characters' journey from home, and even though each novel has different characters and settings, we can see how their location marks the empire's advancement by placing those settings within the same frame. If David Copperfield's middle-class home is located nearest to the center of the empire, then Kipling's India would be at the farthest margin. Its setting is outside the domestic space, Britain, just like the islands that I have discussed in the previous chapter, but while the

boys on the island preserve connections with the home country, Kim does not. If the island is a temporary place of residence in which British subjects cultivate manliness, India is presented as a true home for Kim.

The Boy Who Has Never Left Home

In both his autobiographical and his fictional works, Kipling tests the problems of homelessness/at-homeness with different settings. While *Something of Myself* tells his life story in chronological order, he also makes it space-oriented, focusing on the representation of particular places in each chapter. For instance, in "A Very Young Person," its first chapter, he describes how inhospitable he found the house that he inhabited with his foster parents, associating it with his own sense of displacement and uprootedness in England: "Then came a new small house smelling of aridity and emptiness, a parting in the dawn with Father and Mother, who said that I must learn quickly to read and write so that they might send me letters and books" (*Something* 6). In the second chapter, "The School Before Its Time," he describes his schooldays at the United Services College in England. While the chapter records a schoolboy's struggle to survive in the school environment and in this sense resembles the typical nineteenth-century British public school narratives, the school is not portrayed as the place of exile that forces him to stay outside his home. Rather, it is just one of the spaces that he temporarily inhabits, such as the foreign places that he comes to visit later in life.

In the fourth chapter of the autobiography, Kipling confesses that he found India the only true home for him. Recalling how he felt relieved when coming back to it from

a long journey, he differentiates it from the cold England to which he cannot feel a sense of belonging: "Then came the open north and Lahore, where I was snatching a few days' visit with my people. They were coming 'Home' for good soon: so this was my last look round the only real home I had yet known" (*Something* 112). However, the sense of at-homeness that India offers him is neither perfect nor permanent. That he used to get out of the English clubs to wander about the streets till dawn highlights his desire to know every inch of the country, but he also recalls how both the limited transportation and the risk of infectious disease limited his scope of movement.

Instead of settling in India, he continues traveling in various regions, trying to see whether he can feel at home anywhere. In Chapter Five he goes to a New England town where his wife's grandfather has made his home. In recalling that he rented a cottage and furnished it with his wife, he describes not only the interior of the household but also the New England environment surrounding the building. While he portrays his home life in the cottage as almost idyllic, he states that his family failed to settle there and returned to England because the neighbors did not want any stranger to intrude upon their French community. Kipling concludes that the house that he and his family inhabited in New England turned out to be "only 'a house' and not 'The House' of [their] dreams" (*Something* 142). We can see that his wandering continues through the penultimate chapter, "The Very-Own House, " in which he finally settles at an estate called Bateman's in Sussex with his family. In this way, Kipling's autobiography records how he engaged with different environments during his quest for home.

Punch of "Baa, Baa, Black Sheep"−Social Pariah

Like Kipling himself, the protagonists of his short stories engage with particular places, sometimes failing and sometimes succeeding in making homes. The story "Baa Baa, Black Sheep" in many ways echoes the first chapter of *Something of Myself*. Punch, the protagonist of this story, is the Indian-born white boy who leaves India at the age of five just like the author. His parents take him to England with his little sister Judy and then leave them at a house that resembles the place in which Kipling lived with his foster parents in England. In the scene in which Punch waves good-bye from a steamboat to his "ayah" and Meeta, his Indian nannies/servants, they say "Come back," "and be a Burra-Sahib (a big man)," to which he answers, "Yes, I will come back, and I will be a Burra Sahib Bahadur (a very big man indeed)," probably not fully understanding what it means ("Sheep" 409). In this scene Punch looks like a typical male hero who leaves his home in order to acquire manliness in the outer world, but Kipling twists the literary convention of the adventure story. Instead of leaving home and then returning proudly, Punch sails to England, then neither grows up there nor returns to the point of departure at the end of the story.

When he is journeying across England with his family, Punch thinks that his whole family has become displaced and uprooted: "Through many days all four were vagabonds on the face of the earth−Punch with no one to give orders to, Judy too young for anything, and Papa and Mama grave, distracted, and choking" ("Sheep" 411). Although young Punch believes that they will eventually return to India together, he describes his family as displaced people, emphasizing how his family and their

belongings are constantly moving on the wheels of the four-wheeler during the journey.[85] Even after arriving at a new home, the boy continues to feel displaced. When his parents are gone, he literally feels like a child who is lost in the wide world. Interestingly, in this scene the narrator emphasizes Punch's failure to locate himself geographically; his frustration mostly comes from the fact that he does not know how far India is away from England or how to get back there. With the aid of the geographical knowledge that he has gathered thus far, the five-year-old boy tries to guess the distance between himself and his parents/his Indian home: "Papa and Mama had gone away. Not to Nassick; that was across the sea. To some place much nearer, of course, and equally of course they would return. They came back from dinner-parties, and Papa had come back after he had been to a place called 'The Snows,' and Mama with him, to Punch and Judy at Mrs. Inverarity's house in Marine Lines" ("Sheep" 413). Yet his incomplete knowledge about the larger world does not help him to return home. On the first day after the parents are gone, the sea that initially signals for him the prospect of adventure in the wide world is transformed into a wall that separates him from his home, as in *Eric, or Little by Little*, which I have discussed in Chapter Three. Hearing a "distant, dull boom in the air—a repeated heavy thud" ("Sheep" 414) in the hall of the house, he knows

[85] Notably, not only Punch but his parents also suffer from a sense of displacement at some moments. For example, when they discuss sending their children away to England, Punch's mother is worried that Punch and Judy should grow up away from her. Punch's father replies: "'We are only one case among hundreds,' said Papa bitterly. 'You shall go Home again in five years, dear,'" ("Sheep" 409). This suggests that they perceive England as their true home while living in India. Also, in the letter that Punch's mother writes to her husband after returning to England, she writes: "I am taking the children away into the country to get them to know me, and, on the whole, I am content, or shall be when you come home, dear boy, and then, thank God, we shall be all under one roof again at last" (436). Until the father returns, the mother and the children stay in the "country" of England, but readers do not hear exactly where they are staying until the story ends. These examples show that the parents cannot be free from the question of where true home is as long as they are in the imperial world.

that there is a sea nearby. Although he succeeds in escaping the house with Judy and arrives at the beach, they have no ability to travel across the sea and no knowledge about the world beyond it. The only lesson that he learns is that "[i]t's very, very big, this place" ("Sheep" 414) and that he is lost in it.

Kipling seems to produce the most pessimistic version of a displaced child through the example of Punch, who fails to make a home in England. For him the English home is like a prison that confines his movement. It is interesting to note that he enumerates many doors in his foster home, such as "the garden-gate," "the hall-door," and "the room-door," which confine him to the house with several layers.[86] Furthermore, unlike other children in the house, he is not allowed to move freely or to touch the household objects:

> Judy—who could help loving little Judy? —passed, by special permit, into the kitchen, and thence straight to Aunty Rosa's heart. Harry was Aunty Rosa's one child, and Punch was the extra boy about the house. There was no special place for him or his little affairs, and he was forbidden to sprawl on sofas and explain his ideas about the manufacture of this world and his hopes for his future. Sprawling was lazy and wore out sofas, and little boys were not expected to talk. ("Sheep" 416)

[86] After passing through these doors, Punch faces the greatest wall—the sea, when he goes out to the beach with Judy to meet their parents. However, the sea is more than just a wall; he often takes a walk with Uncle Harry, the only adult who takes him out of the house. In these scenes the sea offers him a sense of freedom instead of confining him. Taking a walk with him in the beach, Uncle Harry shows him ships and harbors, as well as telling him stories about sailors and soldiers. On the one hand, as a symbol of the imperial expansion, the sea reminds Punch of the loss of his home, but at the same time, it also suggests that he can return home by getting involved with the imperial enterprise. As the backdrop of the story, the sea constantly signals that the imperial structure affects every character in this story.

That he is called "Black Sheep" or "the extra boy" indicates that he does not actually belong to the household. Just as Dickens's David Copperfield becomes homeless while still inhabiting a home, after his tyrannical stepfather comes to live with him, Punch becomes homeless in this home. In this light, he makes a contrast to his little sister, Judy, who feels at home anywhere. Although Judy is left to a new home just like Punch, she makes it her home without difficulty, as well as accepting the new identity associated with the place. Being a "Little Friend of All the World," like Kim in India, she can shift easily; not only does she form an attachment to Aunty Rosa quickly, but she also becomes deeply religious because of this bond. When she comes to live with her mother again, however, she gets used to the new environment once more and forgets Aunty Rosa in no time.

Punch's failure to "fit in" to the new environment is presented through the scene in which he keeps dropping things and bumping into the walls of the house: "To his other iniquities Black Sheep had now added a phenomenal clumsiness−was as unfit to trust in action as he was in word. He himself could not account for spilling everything he touched, upsetting glasses as he put his hand out, and bumping his head against doors that were manifestly shut" ("Sheep" 431). On the one hand, he acts clumsily because he is losing his eyesight at this point in the story. On the other hand, however, this scene also suggests that he fails to locate himself not just in the larger world but also in the house. He once gets the opportunity to explore the interior of the house when Aunty Rosa takes only Harry and Judy to Brighton for the holidays and leaves him at home. Since the servant goes out every day, he spends most of his time at home alone for a

month, "counting the number of banisters" and "measuring the length and breadth of every room in handspans" ("Sheep" 430). In this scene he looks like Robinson Crusoe or other Robinsonian adventurer characters who explore and occupy unknown spaces. However, instead of making the house a new home, he soon gets lonely and terrified in the empty house. This suggests that for Kipling the problem of at-homeness is connected not just to an individual's occupation of a particular place but also to his/her relationship with other inhabitants.

As the term "extra boy" implies, Punch comes to exist outside every social boundary, including class. As he grows up, he closely observes how the servant-girls address him and other children in the house: "Harry was ‘Master Harry’ in their mouths; Judy was officially ‘Miss Judy’; but Black Sheep was never anything more than Black Sheep *tout court*" ("Sheep" 427). As I will discuss later, this absence of class creates a kind of "temporary castelessness," which characterizes Kipling’s displaced child characters such as Mowgli and Kim. However, instead of bringing the boy unrestricted freedom and power, the state of castelessness only isolates Punch, making him a social pariah.

Punch’s failure to engage with the household makes it hard for him to assimilate with the English culture as well. Notably, the English culture remains foreign to him. When Uncle Harry suddenly dies and his funeral service is held, he maintains a stranger’s perspective: "'I wonder what will happen to me now,' thought Black Sheep, when semi-pagan rites peculiar to the burial of the Dead in middle-class houses had been accomplished, and Aunty Rosa, awful in black crape, had returned to this life" ("Sheep"

425). Whether it is told from the viewpoint of the adult or the young Punch, this representation of the burial service suggests that he maintains a foreigner's stance towards middle-class English culture. Simultaneously, he also loses his connection to Indian culture. When he first arrives in England, he repeatedly tells little Judy to remember their mother, trying to keep his own promise to her that he will not let his sister forget her, but he seems to lose his memory of India even faster than Judy: "As time went on and the memory of Papa and Mamma became wholly overlaid by the unpleasant task of writing them letters, under Aunty Rosa's eye, each Sunday, Black Sheep forgot what manner of life he had led in the beginning of things. Even Judy's appeals to 'try and remember about Bombay' failed to quicken him" ("Sheep" 427). By losing ties with the Indian home and failing to find a home in England, the displaced child becomes completely homeless.

At the end of the story, when Punch is ten and Judy is eight years old, the mother returns to her children in England and then seeks to reconstruct the family, waiting for her husband's return. Like the parting scene in India, this scene subverts the typical homecoming scenes of adventure stories, emphasizing Punch's anti-heroic aspect. As the five-year-old Punch promises his Indian nanny, he is expected to return home triumphantly after acquiring maturity on his journey to the wide world. Yet he passively remains in England, being confined to the small world that has shrunk as his eyesight gets weakened, until his mother returns to rescue him. Even though Punch becomes happier as his mother returns, it is dubious whether he can be reconnected to the lost

home. In the last scene of the story, he acts like a small boy, soiling himself to test his mother's love and tolerance.

> "Mother's never angry," says Punch. "She'd just say, 'You are a little *pagal*'; and that's not nice, but I'll show."
>
> Punch walks through the ditch and mires himself to the knees. "Mother, dear . . . I'm just as dirty as I can pos-sib-ly be!"
>
> "Then change your clothes as quickly as you pos-sib-ly can!" Mother's clear voice rings out from the house. "And don't be a little *pagal*!"
>
> "There! 'Told you so," says Punch. "It's all different now, and we are just as much mother's as if she had never gone." ("Sheep" 436)

As U. C. Knoepflmacher argues, through this "act of regression" Punch attempts to recover the Indian home that he has lost ("Female" 24). Yet while the family seems happily reunited, readers know that it is impossible to recover the lost home just as it is impossible for him to return to his childhood. Here it is also important to note that only the last part of the story is written in the present tense. Most of the story is written in the past tense, as if Kipling attempts to revive his own childhood memories through Punch's voice, but then he adopts the present tense from the point at which Punch lives with his mother not as Black Sheep but as her adored son. This implies that both Punch and the author are still caught up in the moment of reunion and that the recovery of the home remains incomplete even after they grow up. Through the portrait of a boy who struggles to come back to his lost childhood home, Kipling suggests that one cannot overcome the

sense of displacement and homelessness unless one grows up and claims a place in his/her own home.[87]

Mowgli of The Jungle Books*−Superhuman*

Mowgli, the protagonist of *The Jungle Books*, is another displaced child character who leaves home for a different world. Much as Punch leaves his Indian home for Aunty Rosa's residence, Mowgli leaves the human village and then grows up in the jungle. Knoepflmacher contends that Punch the vulnerable child is contrasted with Mowgli, the superhuman who has emerged from the contact between two worlds and who can "act out a child reader's boldest fantasies of imperial domination" ("Female" 28). Mowgli is so talented at mimicking that he quickly learns the languages of various species to survive in the jungle. As the narrator points out, his wolf brothers need to learn only the rules that are applied to their own pack and tribe, but Mowgli should learn the rules of every species because he is casteless. According to McBratney, even though Mowgli is not white, he functions as an allegorical figure of empire just like Kipling's "native-born" characters or "white creoles," in that he crosses the border between animal and man:

> Given the primacy of the white creole in Kipling's imperial dream, it may seem odd to study the brown-skinned Mowgli as an embodiment of Kipling's

[87] In his autobiography, Kipling portrays himself differently from Punch; instead of regressing in England, his autobiographical self announces that he has returned to India−his true home−as a mature man. This self-portrait of Kipling echoes the dominant discourse over male development that encourages a middle-class boy to return home as a husband and father to recover his position in the domestic sphere, which I have discussed in the first chapter of this dissertation. However, in the case of Kipling, not a middle-class home but a home country is presented as the place to return to.

> hopes for a renovated British Empire. But Kipling's native-born characters are all allegorical figures of empire. As such, Mowgli is only the most fantastically allegorical of empire. He is country-born by analogy, the cross-species dynamic of his life in the jungle mirroring the cross-racial experience of more obviously country-born figures such as Tods, Strickland, and, later, Kim. As he moves fleet and barefoot between wolf and bear, python and panther, animal and man, he enacts the white creole's quicksilver passages between Indian and Briton−those passages central to Kipling's vision of the ideal imperial servant and citizen. (85)

As McBratney puts it, Kipling's native-born characters enact "temporary castelessness," which allows them to invent their own identities outside of social/racial/political boundaries (xix). Being the "uncasted hero" (93) who is neither entirely wolfish nor entirely human, Mowgli helps to create a harmony or a "trans-species brotherhood" in the jungle (McBratney 86). In comparing and contrasting Kipling's two displaced child characters, we can see that the experience of displacement empowers one while it disempowers the other. Although Punch of "Sheep" becomes uncasted in Aunty Rosa's household like Mowgli, he represents the most disempowered subject who has no ties with either the Indian or the English world, while Mowgli exemplifies the empowered who stays connected to both worlds.

Examining the Indian-born characters' relationship with particular spaces, Mary Goodwin argues that Mowgli accepts his own divided location. Reading Frances Hodgson Burnett's *The Secret Garden* (1911) along with *The Jungle Books*, Goodwin

notes that the protagonists of each story, Mary and Mowgli, establish different relationships with the Indian landscape. Goodwin claims: "The child protagonists in both works emerge from the Indian landscape and come to maturity in responses to it both negative and positive: fleeing, as does Burnett's Mary Lennox; or embracing it, as does Kipling's Mowgli" (106).[88] Since Mowgli's jungle is different from the "poisonous, oppressive fen that surrounded Mary's colonial bungalow" (Goodwin 108), he feels at home in the jungle from the first moment that he enters the wolf den, instead of feeling entrapped or exiled. Unlike Mary Lennox and Punch, who both feel imprisoned to their environments, Mowgli freely oscillates between the two different worlds.

It is important to note that in *The Jungle Book* the dividing line between the jungle and the human village is not so clear. For instance, Mowgli learns how to use fire when he looks into a hut near the jungle. Observing how the village woman uses it, he revives his old memories: "Why should I fear? I remember now−if it is not a dream−how, before I was a Wolf, I lay beside the Red Flower, and it was warm and pleasant" (*The Jungle Book* 20). Being exposed to the human environment in this way, he can maintain his memory of that world while growing up in another world. Furthermore, he maintains a connection to the jungle after returning to the village. Just as Punch is parted from his Indian nanny, promising to return, Mowgli has a parting with

[88] It would be also interesting to read Mary Lennox's character together with the hill-woman who proudly tells Kim about the Sahib who once loved her. She is contrasted with Mowgli in that she escapes the Indian landscape, but she is also contrasted with the hill-woman who cannot escape the place to which she feels no sense of belonging. Critics agree that *Kim*'s hill-woman is the same character as the protagonist of the story "Lispeth" (1886), who is also abandoned by a white man and then lives the rest of her life in the hills with 'her people.' Both Mary and Lispeth are displaced and both lose their parents because of cholera. Yet the latter fails to escape her home town, while Mary escapes to England. Later in this chapter I will discuss how Lispeth's character both intersects and contrasts with Kim's.

his wolf family when he decides to return to the human world, but it is not a complete separation: "'Ye will not forget me?' said Mowgli. 'Never while we can follow a trail,' said the cubs. 'Come to the foot of the hill when thou art a man, and we will talk to thee; and we will come into the croplands to play with thee by night'" (*The Jungle Book* 24). The adolescent Mowgli and his wolf brothers from time to time reunite in the ambiguous space between the jungle and the village after separation, contrasting to Punch, who is separated from his Indian home with the "pitiless horizon" ("Sheep" 414).

Additionally, it is the ability that Mowgli acquires through his life in the jungle that enables him to cross borders freely. In the scene in which he returns to the village and begins living in a hut, he assures himself that he can escape the house whenever he wants by using his own animal-like strength: "Mowgli was uneasy, because he had never been under a roof before. But as he looked at the thatch, he saw that he could tear it out any time if he wanted to get away, and that the window had no fastenings" (*The Jungle Book* 59). That is, Mowgli is able to cross borders because he develops in the process of making the jungle his home. Unlike Punch, who neither grows up nor returns home, he marks himself a hero through repeating the very act of homecoming, whether it is the home in the jungle or in the human world.

Kim of* Kim−*"Little Friend of All the World"

Both "Sheep" and the Mowgli stories portray boys who leave home and then are expected to return to it. Compared to these other displaced characters, Kim is placed in a more complicated situation in that he has never left home but is expected to "return."

Growing up in a conflicted environment, Kim experiences a different kind of homelessness/at-homeness. As McBratney and other critics claim, *Kim* represents Kipling's fantasy of the childhood that he did not actually have.[89] Noting that the protagonist of this novel "never faces the prospect of being sent back to England to be turned into a conventional English boy," he argues that through this story the author imagines what his own life would have been if he was not sent to England but grew up in India (104).

Although *Kim* is one of the best-known adventure stories, it is differentiated from traditional adventure stories in terms of the protagonist's relationship to his home country. According to Johnson, conventional boys' adventure stories of the time portray the English boy's traveling to India to grow up into an adult/colonialist, but Kipling subverts this literary convention by portraying the Indian-born's rite of passage (12). In *Mapping Men and Empire: A Geography of Adventure* (1997), Richard Philips draws on the term "geographical imagination" in reading nineteenth-century British adventure stories as a genre. Philips notes that the setting of the modern adventure tends to be separate from home space (13). Contending that *Robinson Crusoe* belongs to the literary

[89] For instance, in *Kipling and Beyond: Patriotism, Globalisation, and Postcolonialism* (2010), Donna Landry and Caroline Rooney contend that *Kim* represents Kipling's fantasy childhood. As they note, Kipling stayed outside of India during early adolescence that is described in the novel. Also, in this novel not only is India portrayed as an ideal place for boyish adventure, but at the beginning Kim does not suffer from identity crisis as an Indian-born:

> The kind of childhood Kipling constructs for Kim is remote from the conditions−faced historically by children forced to live on the street. Moreover, instead of directly confronting the suffering and emotional ambivalences of his own exilic childhood, and exile from childhood, Kipling chooses to immunise himself from the pain of such reminiscences through the fabrication of a fantasy childhood. Such a sentimental vision of childhood as a marvelous space of freedom and infinite possibility−as opposed to a place of coercive discipline and deprivation−has elements of kitsch or contrived authenticity, to be sure. (60)

tradition of the nineteenth century rather than to that of the eighteenth century, he argues that *Robinson Crusoe* and similar nineteenth-century adventure stories perceive Britain as the center and colonies as the margin of the empire. Quoting drama critic Victor Turner, he proposes that in those stories the geography of adventure is a "marginal, ambiguous region in which elements of normal life are inverted and contradictions displayed" (13). Although this geography temporarily disrupts constructions of home, it is established in relation to home space, functioning as a mirror that reflects home: "In the liminal geography of adventure, the hero encounters a topsy-turvy reflection of home, in which constructions of home and away are temporarily disrupted, before being reinscribed or reordered, in either case reconstituted" (Philips 13). According to Philips, even though Crusoe invents new identities on the island, he comes to reassert existing identities and social orders of his home country (31). Here it is noteworthy that Kim has no home to use as a center, unlike Robinson Crusoe and other Robinsonian adventurer characters. Kipling's India is similar to Defoe's island in that it is a paradise for boyish adventures, but in *Kim* the setting of adventure is not separated from the home and its protagonist does not undergo any "perilous and extraordinary voyage" (Philips 13) from home. As I will be arguing, this makes a crucial difference between the ways Kim and Crusonian characters engage with their settings.

While most scholars talking about *Kim*'s generic affiliations read it along with adventure stories, I suggest that it's also useful to consider it in light of Victorian emigration narratives. Though the son of an Irish soldier and a nursemaid who moved to India, Kim establishes a different relationship with the foreign region from nineteenth-

century British settlers. Noting that many Victorian novels with emigration motifs contrast the Old World with the New World, Diana C. Archibald claims that in those stories the Old World is associated with desirable qualities while the New World is defined as the inferior Other that fails to measure up to home.[90] As Archibald terms it, though home was physically moved to the margin of the empire, it did not cause any "ideological movement away from the imperial center" (6). In discussing different genres, Archibald and Philips share the thought that the New World is imagined as a mirror of the Old World. The dichotomy of Old World/center and New World/margin appears even in the texts that portray the New World as a paradise:

> In its most basic form, a virtuous, noble, moral, respectable, comfortable, pretty, and trustworthy, old England is contrasted with a savage, rough, wicked, vulgar, indecent, violent New World. More rarely, a paradisiacal New World appears to advantage against the corrupt Old World, but even in such cases, the New World functions primarily as a mirror in which the Old World can see itself more clearly in order to reform and thus be restored to greater glory . . . Once one leaves "home," for whatever reason, one journeys to a dangerous land whose very existence inevitably challenges the center, calling its centrality into question. (Archibald 4-5)

[90] See Josephine McDonagh's "On Setting and Being Unsettled: Legitimacy and Settlement around 1850" in *Legitimacy and Illegitimacy in Nineteenth-Century Law, Literature and History* (2010). McDonagh demonstrates that the term "settlement" underwent a transition during the Victorian era because of the increase in mobility. She mentions that Dickens's magazine, *Household Words*, include elegies that portray homesick settlers. For instance, a poem titled "The Settlers" portrays how one feels broken from the past when remembering the landscape of home (McDonagh 49).

Whereas Victorian novels with emigration themes betray a similar desire for the English home, they also suggest that such recovery is unattainable. According to Archibald, in some emigration novels the problem of finding an ideal wife, who embodies ideal domesticity, goes parallel with that of establishing a true home. While the ideal of the domestic angel was impossible for the real middle-class women at home, it was even more impossible for the New World women (Archibald 10). The main characters' failing to find an ideal wife signifies the impossibility of making an ideal Victorian home outside the home country. For instance, Anthony Trollope's *The Three Clerks* (1858) portrays how an English settler fails to find an ideal British woman in Australia; in this novel the female characters act outside the frame of the "Angel in the House," and this gap between ideal and reality helps to critique the domestic ideology of the home country (Archibald 71). While Kim's relationship with women does affect his transition from boyhood to manhood, his story of development rejects idealized domesticity, including the notion of the domestic angel.[91]

[91] According to Rosemary Marangoly George, Englishwomen in the colonies recognized themselves as national subjects through contributing to the construction of English households. Particularly, they believed they engaged with the imperial cause by offering domestic labor: "There was an assumption that the successful running of the empire required the womanly skills of household management. Most importantly, the imperial occupation of India allowed for the prescription of the domestic as the most fulfilling arena in which a modern female subject could operate" (97). George also notes that the Englishwomen in India defined themselves as individuals only by identifying Indian women as a racial Other (100). Through the eyes of Indian women who called them the "Memsahibs" (which means "Madame boss"), they were able to recognize themselves as national subjects. Suggestively, in *Kim* the Englishwomen in India are almost invisible, while native women characters who were considered racial Other by the Englishwomen play crucial roles in Kim's growing up. This demonstrates the protagonist's disconnection from the center of the empire; since Kim does not identify with the English culture, neither ideals of English domesticity nor his relationship with the Englishwomen as home-builders are not important for his growing up.

Archibald also points out that not only the New World women in fiction but also many real women from England were supposed to construct an English home abroad. The New World women often relied upon materials brought from the home country in order to reproduce an English household in the colony: "By faithfully reproducing the cherished cultural practices of England−no matter how nonsensical such practices appeared under the Southern Cross−women, in a sense, 'exported' England to their new country, and used those cultural devices to construct 'real' homes" (Archibald 81). Archibald adds that one of the reasons why the women tried to maintain British codes was because they expected they could reenter British society someday (82). This struggle to connect to the old home in the New World reminds us of Crusoe, who seeks to reestablish his home country on the island with the aid of the resources that he brings from the wrecked ship. In contrast, Kim does not need resources brought from the home country; rather, he survives and grows up eating the Indian food that he gets from Indian women during his journey.[92]

Instead of pursuing an unattainable ideal of the English home, then, Kim, the "Little Friend of All the World" (his nickname given by Indians), feels at home in India. In this novel Kim meets white people who perceive India as a prison while traveling across it. Kim and the lama once meet a drummer-boy who identifies himself as an exile: "I'd run away if I knew where to go to, but, as the men say, in this bloomin' Injia you're

[92] Jeremy Krikler claims that Kim's preference for Indian food highlights Kipling's cultural alienation from the British culture: "There might be an aberrant moment or two when, after being schooled at St. Xavier's, Kim 'felt all the European's lust for flesh meat,' but the food of the Sahibs is as nothing compared with the Indian cuisine after which he hankers. The very prospect of being free in India during the St. Xavier's vacation is partly associated with the food to which Kim can return" (28).

only a prisoner at large. You can't desert without bein' took back at once. I'm fair sick of it" (*Kim* 89). Unlike this boy whose only hope is to return to England or Punch who feels exiled in England, Kim does not feel displaced or imprisoned in occupying India. Presenting Kim as superior to the European boys in St Xavier school, who live more constrained lives than he, the narrator finds their speech better than the "insipid, single-word talk of drummer-boys" (*Kim* 106), in that they have a "quaint" way of speaking in their speech since they have learned "vernacular" language from their Indian nannies. We can see that the drummer-boy who just came out of England is portrayed negatively, being contrasted both to Kim and to other Indian-born European boys. [93]

Early in his journey with the lama, Kim admires the ordinary view of India in the morning. In this scene he is differentiated from English settlers in India for whom "home" remains fundamentally English:

> The diamond-bright dawn woke men and crows and bullocks together. Kim sat up and yawned, shook himself, and thrilled with delight. This was seeing the world in real truth; this was life as he would have it—bustling and shouting, the buckling of belts, and beating of bullocks and creaking of wheels, lighting of fires, and cooking of food, and new sights at every turn

[93] Danijela Petković argues that the drummer-boy illustrates the worst example of Sahib behavior: "The drummer-boy, who tells Kim that 'bazaar's out o' bounds,' is represented as the worst product of English colonial education−stupid, prejudiced and aggressive, with no love or understanding for the country he is supposed to rule one day" (49). Through this contrast, Kipling suggests that the British officials need to become intimate with the Indians in order to rule efficiently. This seems consistent with Andrew St. John's argument that Kipling revealed his admiration for John Lawrence, the British ruler who introduced the non-regulation system of government in Punjab (63). Drawing on Kipling's little-known story "In the Year '57'," St. John argues that Kipling reveals nostalgia for British rule before the Indian Mutiny, which governed the Indians with "personal influence and power of observation" (79) rather than by force of arms.

> of the approving eye . . . India was all awake, and Kim was in the middle of it, more awake and more excited than anyone, chewing on a twig that he would presently use as a toothbrush; for he borrowed right- and left-handedly from all the customs of the country he knew and loved. (*Kim* 65)

For Kim the street looks like a kaleidoscope of colors, forms, and sounds. Watching the panorama through the excited boy's eyes, the narrator lists details of the scene. Similarly, Indian people of various castes are catalogued in the train scene, and the bazaar looks like a "turbulent sea" (*Kim* 18) where people, horses, and dogs mingle. That Kim feels at home in facing the vast landscape of India highlights the unique position that he occupies as an Indian-born white boy. According to Johnson, since the vast landscape of India made the English observers feel small, they built spaces such as the Hill Stain and the English Club according to English style in order to feel at home, and "most turned impulsively to the replication of European urbanism, with all its social trappings, to offset feelings of estrangement or isolation. And it was in the hill station, built to replicate England in miniature, that the Raj most enthusiastically mimicked the domestic attitudes of the Homeland" (87). In addition to offering psychological comfort to English settlers who felt like exiles in India, by making them feel connected to the home country, those spaces were expected to function as sanitaria in which they could avoid intense heat and life-threatening illnesses (Johnson 85).[94] Kim, as a working-class boy, does not

[94] In analyzing the architectural style of colonial India, Ian Baucom, too, notes that the colonialists sought to secure authentic Englishness through constructing English-style buildings in India. Baucom quotes the imperial architect T. Roger Smith's lecture: "Somehow, he suggests, the laying of a stone in a particular way, the sloping of an arch along a specific line, the bounding of space according to a given design, will not only cow the Indian but cause him to behold the colonialist 'with respect and even with admiration,' but will ensure that "the English collector remains British to the backbone in the heart of India" (79-80).

have access to those places, but he also does not need such psychological and physical comfort in the first place.

Some scholars have noticed colonialist elements in the scenes in which Kim gazes at the Indian landscapes and streets. For instance, S. P. Mohanty claims that the way Kim perceives each scene as a harmonious whole represents the colonialist perspective, which oversimplifies representations of colonized subjects through eliding individual diversities (398). Arguing that the narrator's gaze tries to devour every detail of the colonized culture, Qadri Ismail concludes that Kipling's India is presented as "an object of study, a disciplinary object" (411). Similarly, Charlotte Joergensen contends that Kipling's representation of India betrays the panoramic gaze, adopting the imperialist perspective of the time. Noting that the Victorians were familiar with the panoramic mode of representation, Joergensen notices a number of panoramic elements from the novel, including the centering of the observer: "In nineteenth-century Britain the Europ-centripetal force was increased by the massive presence of the various kinds of panoramas, which set up exotic places as a passive object for a British audience's gaze, a gaze which was confirmed by the centrality of Britain's own successful agency" (16). Joergensen adds that Kipling provides readers with detailed descriptions of scenes as well as multiple catalogues of people that Kim sees in the streets.

What these critics overlook is that not only the Indian people/cultures but also the English people/cultures are catalogued in the novel. Instead of struggling to reconstruct

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Noting that Smith and his fellows were more concerned with preserving Englishness than with anglicizing the Indian (80), Baucom claims that this shows their desire to remain connected to the home country while occupying India.

the Old World within the inferior New World like the emigrants from England, Kim occupies multiple environments including the English sites. From the beginning of the novel, readers often catch a glimpse of the English culture, but they are presented as fragmentary images like other images in the "turbulent sea" of different shapes and colors. Kim is aware of the English people's presence in India, but he calls them by names such as "missionaries" and "secretaries of charitable societies," not understanding what those names indicate. Much as Mowgli learns how to identify various species and how to treat them, he acquires the capacity to identify people from different regions who inhabit India, such as "thin-legged, grey-bearded Ooryas from down country" and "duffle-clad, felt-hatted hillmen of the North" (*Kim* 58), based on their looks and the way they dress and talk. Identifying the English people likewise, he knows that he should avoid "white men of serious aspect" because they characteristically ask him who he is and then attempt to drag him to orphanages.[95] Also, in the scene in which he observes Father Bennett, the English priest, he identifies him as a priest based on the knowledge that he has acquired through observing priests of various religions. Watching him from a distance, he depicts his looks and dress in detail: "The black dress, gold cross on the watch-chain, the hairless face, and the soft, black wideawake hat would have marked

[95] Matthew Fellion asserts that in *Kim* each character performs his/her social and cultural roles and that knowing their race and caste helps individual to survive the Great Game: "As the metaphor of the game suggests, bodies of knowledge about races, castes, and religions become a firm framework or a set of rules directing the activities of each side. . .Through the lens of the Game, Kipling presents a vision of India as a chessboard and of its inhabitants as pieces with precisely defined attributes. Playing the game requires knowing these attributes, and therefore understanding the rules." (903) According to Fellion, this kind of ethnological knowledge is true on one level, but on another level, characters make use of it to deceive others. For instance, Hurree Babu makes use of a generalized knowledge about the comic Bengali Babu to deceive Russian spies, referring to himself as fearful. At the same time, this knowledge is true on one level, in that sometimes he is truly fearful (Fellion 902).

him as a holy man anywhere in all India" (*Kim* 72). In this light, the English culture is categorized through Kim's representation of an individual person, which echoes the way Kipling depicts various Indian customs and manners.

In this novel each site of different race and culture functions as an embodiment of a whole country, and the English site is presented as one of the many environments of different culture, caste, and race that are spread over India. Postcolonial scholars have argued that the colonizer's culture always takes the position of an observer. Yet in fact in *Kim*, the English culture sometimes becomes an object of the gaze. Before Kim begins his journey with the lama, he enjoys an unconstrained life of a street-bred boy who loves to move over the housetops rather than staying indoors. Although he often looks into the English households, he never wants to become a part of those places.[96] He once secretly visits Colonel Creighton's house to deliver to him Mabub Ali's message. Like a spectator, readers look into the interior of the household through Kim's eyes while he is prying into it after doing his errand:

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[96] Similarly, in *The Jungle Book* there are scenes in which Mowgli looks into human places of residence, not wanting to become a part of the interior spaces. In "The Spring Running" chapter, he accidentally finds the hut of the Indian woman who took care of him when he came to live with humans earlier in his life. When she invites him into the hut, treating him like her son, he observes the household objects from a distance though he is located in the hut:

> As he stood in the red light of the oil-lamp, strong, tall, and beautiful, his long black hair sweeping over his shoulders, the knife swinging at his neck, and his head crowned with a wreath of white jasmine, he might easily have been mistaken for some wild god of a jungle legend. . . .Messua turned to soothe him, while Mowgli stood still, looking in at the water-jars and the cooking pots, the grain-bin, and all the other human belongings that he found himself remembering so well. (*The Jungle Book* 167)

Although he decides to return to the human world at the end of this chapter, at this moment he is still reluctant. As in *Kim*, in *The Jungle Book* Mowgli's self-identification as an outsider is presented through his distanced gaze toward the interior.

> It remained only to identify his man, and Kim slipped through the garden hedge and hid in a clump of plumed grass close to the veranda. The house blazed with lights, and servants moved about tables dressed with flowers, glass, and silver. Presently forth came an Englishman, dressed in black and white, humming a tune. . . .
>
> He saw−Indian bungalows are open through and through−the Englishman return to a small dressing room, in a corner of the veranda, that was half office, littered with papers and despatch-boxes, and sit down to study Mahbub Ali's message. His face, by the full ray of the kerosene lamp, changed and darkened, and Kim, used as every beggar must be to watching countenances, took good note. (*Kim* 34)

In this scene both the colonel's face and the house interior are spotlighted with the lamplight, which later enables Kim to imitate the colonel's facial expression and gesture like a caricature in front of the indigenous Indians. This scene reminds us of the scene in which David Copperfield, Dickens's orphan boy, looks into his aunt's house after a long journey. Just as David observes the household objects and architectural structure of the middle-class home, Kim describes the house interior, listing the details that mark the English home built in colonial India. However, in contrast to David, who yearns to be accepted into the home to recover his middle-class identity, Kim has no desire to enter the home or to recover his own Sahibhood. For him there is no fundamental difference between the colonel's home and the Indian homes whose roofs he used to move over in the night. Thus, while it is true that Kipling's representation of Indian scenes reveals a

colonialist viewpoint, it is also true that Kim's perceiving the English culture as foreign unsettles this viewpoint through blurring the line between the observer and the object of the gaze. Significantly, it is specifically Creighton's home that Kipling turns to this purpose.

The Son Who Does Not Return

In his introduction to *The Second Jungle Book*, published by Oxford University Press, Wallace Robson points out that the "theme of growing up, of becoming a new self" is consistent in *The Jungle Books*. Although Mowgli learns to inhabit two different worlds, he comes to experience an identity crisis at the end of his childhood. In "The Spring Running," the last Mowgli story in the earliest edition of *The Second Jungle Book*, he feels a strange loneliness when he is nearly seventeen years old−the same age as Kipling, who was sixteen years and nine months old when he came from England to India. Like the Kipling of that period of life, Mowgli faces the necessity to choose a home. Though he is reluctant to leave the jungle, the "Jungle People" such as Baloo the bear, Bagheera the panther, and Kaa the snake persuade him to return to his people, referring to the old Jungle proverb, "Man goes to Man at the last" (*The Second Jungle Book* 172). This story ends with Mowgli's hearing the songs of Baloo, Bagheera, and Kaa behind him until he reaches his foster mother's hut near the jungle. Instead of ending the story with the three animals' blessings for the boy's new life, Kipling makes a portrait of the adult Mowgli in another story. He appears as an adult in "In the Rukh," the first written of the Mowgli stories, which was published in *Many Inventions* (1893) and then

included in the 1897 edition of *The Jungle Books*. This story is told from the viewpoint of a British officer in the Indian Forestry Service, who offers a ranger's position to Mowgli after getting impressed by his uncommon knowledge about the jungle. At the end of the story readers see how Mowgli marries the daughter of the officer's Muslim cook and comes to live a settled life with her and with their baby son in a jungle hut.

Whereas *Kim* shares the theme of growing up with *The Jungle Books*, readers do not see Kim's life as an adult because he remains pre-adult throughout the story. Growing between about thirteen and seventeen years of age, Kim does not fully enter manhood till the end, but still the ending scene implies that he will eventually acquire masculinity and that then his relationship with colonial India will not be the same. A number of critics who read this novel as a Bildungsroman have analyzed both Kim's growing up and his ambiguous state between boyhood and manhood in the context of imperial discourse. For example, Said claims that Kipling attempts to affirm the perpetuation of the British rule over India through contrasting Kim with the Tibetan lama. According to Said, in Kipling's novels only white boys are allowed to escape both childhood and the state of innocence while other races remain the same throughout the texts; remaining innocent and childlike, the lama fails to notice the white boy's bodily and mental development till the end of the story. Also, contending that Kim would "part from the lama and enter as an alienated adult into the bitter heritage of his dead father−the British Secret Service" (447), Zohreh T. Sullivan concludes that the ending of the novel signals the author's final choice of England over India. Petković also contends that *Kim* supports an essentialist concept of identity through displaying the boy's

recovery of white identity; that Kim returns to Kimball O'Hara after trying different identities suggests that one cannot escape the imperial structure (34).

I agree that Kim will part from the lama and will lose his identity as the "Little Friend of All the World" as he reaches manhood. Yet I don't agree that his acquiring maturity will lead him to follow his father's way, or that this novel announces Kipling's choosing England over India as his true home country. Exploring how Kim loses and recovers at-homeness, I call into question the dominant idea that his growing up turns him into a white master who rules colonial India. Although Kim's "racial destiny" seemingly promises him the power and privilege over the colonized people, the ending suggests that he will invent his own nationality and that he will remain distinguished from the Sahibs who stay connected to Britain.

As I have discussed in the earlier chapters, boy protagonists of nineteenth-century British adventure stories seek to enter middle-class manhood by passing through a conventional rite of passage. In contrast, as many critics have noted, Kim's status as a street-bred orphan gives him freedom both in his occupation of India and in his growing up. As John A. McClure rightly observes, it is Kim's orphanhood that empowers him: "The loss of his parents, which cuts him from off from the exclusive world of the imperial community, saves him from the exile and oppression that would ordinarily have been his lot, and catapults him into the very heart of his homeland, India" (377). That is, because he is outside the familial and social structure, Kim is able to travel across India freely, transgressing both social and geographical boundaries. Although Punch of "Sheep" shares an orphan's attribute with Kim in that he lives with little parental care, he

is not only physically confined to Aunty Rosa's household but also restricted by the rigid and narrow-minded rules of middle-class English society. Tellingly, McBratney claims that Kim's depiction as an orphan helps to unsettle his racial identity. As an orphan, he is not allowed any stable place in society, but at the same time, orphanhood empowers him by enabling him to invent his own identity (107).[97]

We can see how the law of the father interferes with the boy's maturation story, with a purpose of making a "man" of him in the form of his late father. JanMohamed argues that Kim's "racial destiny" to rule India is fulfilled (79). In Chapter Five of the novel, his destiny brings him to white soldiers who have the crest of the Mavericks—the great Red Bull on a background of Irish green, the image that appears in his dead father's will and that helps him to fulfill his fate as a white boy. Kimball O'Hara, Kim's father, was a sergeant of the Mavericks, a fictional Irish regiment in the British army. As his father was extremely poor, his only "estate" (*Kim* 4) is three papers, one of which is his

[97] But then both McClure and McBratney conclude that at the end of the novel the disruptive force of the Indian-born orphan boy disappears as he comes to fully serve the empire while accepting his white identity. Also, Jesse Oak Taylor notices Kim's identity as a transgressor from the early scene where he sits on the cannon:

> The cannon, like any gun, creates a clear-cut divide between those who fire and those fired at by (or even from) it. This divide necessitates the initial clarity of Kim's identity in the Manichean division constantly striven for, if never actually achieved, by the imperial regime. Placed in contact with the cannon, Kim must be either English or not-English. There are no other possible identities. No sooner is this clarity established, however, than it is complicated by the numerous hybridizations of Kim's identity. Sitting astride the cannon, Kim not only defies 'municipal orders,' but is perched on and transgressing the unbridgeable divide of imperial identity itself. From its earliest pages, then, Kim offers a protagonist who seems to embody a principle of transgression. (55)

Like McClure and McBratney, Taylor concludes that Kim comes to lose his ability to transcend racial, cultural, and political boundaries as he enters the imperial world in the end: "he can no longer appreciate that which falls outside the epistemological space of the sahib" (65). While it is true that Kim transforms at the ending scene, I will argue that the "principle of transgression" remains throughout the novel in that he remains outside of the familial and social structure in some ways.

birth certificate. Since the half-Indian woman who looks after him tells him of his father's claim that his birth certificate would make him a "man" one day, he keeps it in an amulet-case and always wears it around his neck, believing that it has a magical power. When he encounters white soldiers, his birth certificate exerts this power in an unexpected way; he sneaks into the soldiers' tents and gets caught, but they forgive him when they recognize his white skin hidden under clothes and his birth certificate. While readers know that his blood tie with his father and further, his tie with his father's home country work on his behalf, Kim concludes that "the amulet was evidently working in his favour" (*Kim* 75) and that his father's prophecy was fulfilled "miraculously" (*Kim* 75).

Arguing that *Kim* offers readers an "exotic, attractive version of the juvenile delinquent" (118), Randall claims that even though the street-bred orphan can blend in with any group in India due to the absence of fixed identity, place of residence, and social position, he is subjected to paternal law as white adults discover his connection to Britain:

> The patronym assures the father's child's claim to a legitimate place in social networks, but also marks that child as subject to the law of the father, to the socializing system of constraints and interdicts−all the various Thou-shalt-nots−pronounced in the father's name. In *Kim*, however, the boy's relationship with the patronym is deferred, suspended−indeed, literally suspended in the amulet-case that hangs around Kim's neck. (117)

According to Randall, Kim's first journey is completed with his return to the "patronym." Here it is noteworthy that a passage from Kipling's poem "The Prodigal Son," which alludes to the Prodigal Son in Luke 15, is placed as an epigraph to this chapter of the novel.[98] By attaching this epigraph, Kipling seems to foretell that Kim will eventually be molded into an imperial subject who plays the Great Game on the side of his father's country. Much as the Prodigal Son returns to his father after traveling in faraway countries, after this chapter many adult characters expect Kim to "return." Sending him to St. Xavier's School, which aims to prevent white boys from going native, Father Victor and Bennett believe that they can make a man of him through standardized Western education. Also, both Colonel Creighton and Mahbub Ali believe that he will return to them after preparing himself to become an agent in the Great Game, and Mahbub Ali assures Creighton: "He says he will return. He is but perfecting his knowledge," for "When his time is accomplished he will come to me" (*Kim* 110). However, it is noteworthy that Kipling twists the story of the Prodigal Son in his poem; even though the son returns home and gets welcomed by the forgiving father, at the end of the poem he announces that he must leave again because he feels more at home at the pigsty: "I'm leaving, Pater. Good-bye to you! / God bless you, Mater. I'll write to you!"

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[98] This poem was published in Kipling's poetry collection *Songs from Books* (1912). Below is the epigraph:

> Here come I to my own again−
> Fed, forgiven, and known again−
> Claimed by bone of my bone again,
> And sib to flesh of my flesh!
> The fatted calf is dressed for me,
> But the husks have greater zest for me. . .
> I think my pigs will be best for me,
> So I'm off to the styes afresh.
> *The Prodigal Son*.

That the epigraph of this chapter twists the Prodigal Son motif suggests that Kim's relationship with the father's home country is not so simple.

That Kim's familial legacy is discovered and he is sent to a school for white boys seemingly makes him resemble boy characters of traditional Bildungsromane. Yet his narrative departs from convention when he chooses to return to the Tibetan lama. Noting Kim's strange attachment to the lama, H. M. Daleski argues that the lama functions as his true father and that when Kim faces the necessity to recover at-homeness, he associates home with the lama: "Being 'loosed from the schools' and coming to the Lama is coming home at last, even if it be to wander in open country. Home, according to T. S. Eliot in 'East Coker,' is 'where one starts from'; home, for the orphan, is where one comes to" (118). That is, instead of recovering a familial legacy like the Prodigal Son, Kim chooses to return to his foster father, the lama, who transgresses every social/racial/political boundary.

Just as Kipling himself continues the quest for home after his first homecoming to India as depicted in the second chapter of his autobiography, however, Kim's quest for home does not end when he returns from St. Xavier's and rejoins the lama. Their reunion seems temporary from the beginning; when the lama asks Kim why and how he has returned to him, the boy only replies, "But first I come to wander−with thee. Therefore I am here" (*Kim* 161), not giving him any further answer. Focusing on the closing scene of *Kim*, in which the lama's enlightenment coincides with Kim's decision to "get into the world again" (*Kim* 234), many critics have argued that their reunion serves to conceal the imperial implications of the novel. Noting that Kim has two

mentors, the spiritual lama and the secular Mahbub Ali, Barbara J. Black argues that the two mentors compete over the boy's future in the scene in which they interpret the meaning of his journey differently (245-246). Also, according to McBratney, even though Kipling attempts to prolong the boy hero's "liminality within the two careers he pursues, the Great Game and the lama's Search for enlightenment" (108), he realizes that he should choose between the two conflicting careers.[99] Pointing out that neither Kim nor Mahbub Ali but the lama has the last word, McBratney claims that through Kim's silence the author attempts to conceal the fact that he eventually decides to fully enter the Great Game.

While the implication of this ending has caused never-ending debate among critics, I argue that Kim goes through a homecoming to India in the end, instead of choosing the father's home country as his final home. To demonstrate this, it is essential to discuss how the lama and Kim's homelessness/at-homeness go parallel during the journey. Being as casteless as the street-bred white orphan, the Tibetan lama, too, is portrayed like a displaced child. [100] Importantly, though the lama believes that he is outside all borders, he comes to inhabit India as a social/cultural/political space in some

[99] Andrew Hagiioannu contends that Kipling seeks to combine the identities of Buddhist and imperialist in his fictions. In reading Kipling's story "The Miracle of Purun Bhagat" along with *Kim*, Hagiioannu claims that in Purun's character a spiritual self and a political self are combined perfectly. Purun Bhagat, the protagonist of this story, has two identities: he is portrayed as a western-educated politician in colonial India, but then he abandons all of his social and political position to settle up in the Himalayas. However, at the end of the story he recovers his official identity as Sir Purun Dass, rescuing the village from an earthquake. According to Hagiioannu, while Purun's character illustrates an "impossible cultural construct: a genuinely practising Hindu−Buddhist−Christian imperialist" (108), Kim fails to combine the two conflicting identities.

[100] McBratney notes that the lama occupies a liminal position in India, in that he separates himself from his fellow Buddhist monks by leaving his lamasery to find a higher truth (119).

ways during his pilgrimage. On the one hand, his displacement/homelessness derives from the fact that he dreams of escaping from this world, which is symbolized by the Wheel of Things in Buddhist terms. Since he "never raise[s] his eyes" (56) on the journey, he repeatedly forgets the names of the cities that he passes by. When the European priests discover Kim's racial identity and announce that he should be educated as a white boy, the lama tries to comprehend the situation but fails. In this scene his perception of the surrounding area as a vast emptiness implies that social and geographical boundaries have no meaning to him: "Then the lama raised his head, and looked forth across them into space and emptiness" (80). At the same time, however, his displacement comes from the fact that he is in a foreign country. Because he does not know either how to locate himself in India or how to move across the country, he needs the native-born boy as a guide. However, while Kim is attending St. Xavier's, the lama continues his pilgrimage alone, and after reunion Kim notices that he speaks "far clearer Urdu than long ago, under Zam-Zammah" (*Kim* 159). That he gradually learns the manners and culture of India demonstrates that his sense of displacement/homelessness in India derives from his being both a priest and a foreigner.

In Chapter Thirteen of the novel, Kim and the lama head for the foot of the Himalayas, the former seeking to join the Great Game on the British government's side and the latter believing that he and his disciple can depart from and then shortly return to their quest for the River. In this scene the lama becomes more and more energetic as he climbs the Hills; he looks like a fish in water, in contrast to Kim who is environmentally challenged:

> Day after day they struck deeper into the huddled mountains, and day after day Kim watched the lama return to a man's strength . . . Kim, plains-bred and plains-fed, sweated and panted astonished. 'This is *my* country,' said the lama. 'Beside Such-zen, this is flatter than a rice-field'; and with steady, driving strokes from the loins he strode upwards. . . .
>
> . . .and Kim kindly allowed a village of hillmen to acquire merit by giving him a rough blanket-coat. The lama was mildly surprised that anyone should object to the knife-edged breezes which had cut the years off his shoulders. (*Kim* 192-193)

Although the lama identifies himself as a priest who cannot feel at home anywhere in this world, obviously he finds the Hills his home. However, instead of staying at home, he decides to leave the Hills for the Plains to continue the pilgrimage. Regretting that he ever turned to the Hills, he says: "There is no blame to the hakim. He—following desire—foretold that the Hills would make me strong. They strengthend me to do evil, to forget my Search. I delighted in life and the lust of life. I desired strong slopes to climb. I cast about to find them" (*Kim* 217). In this way, he refuses to accept the double reasons for his own homelessness, sticking to the belief that he can escape it only by transcending the physical world.

Against the belief of the lama and of (probably) Kim himself, Kim's displacement is from the beginning related not to the problem of the spiritual/secular world but to that of social, cultural, and political circumstances. His perception of both India and Britain shifts from Chapter Five of the novel; he begins feeling displaced and homeless after the

European soldiers and priests−the people whom he used to consider "foreign"−claim their ties with him. On his way to St. Xavier's School, he thinks that this "solitary passage" (*Kim* 101) is totally different from the joyful journey with the lama. As I have already discussed, the vast landscape of India initially gives him only pleasure, but in this scene he feels lonely and frustrated facing it: "'No; I am Kim. This is the great world, and I am only Kim. Who is Kim?'. . . He was one insignificant person in all this roaring whirl of India, going southward to he knew not what fate" (*Kim* 101). Furthermore, it is when he hears about the Great Game from Hurree Babu that he begins identifying himself as a lost child. Borrowing the lama's phrasing about the great world, he thinks: "He is right−a great and a wonderful world−and I am Kim−Kim−Kim−alone−one person−in the middle of it" (*Kim* 188). Although the lama's expression is echoed here, we can see that Kim's homelessness derives from the difficulty in locating himself within imperial structure.

While the lama is assured that he and his disciple are two "souls seeking escape" (*Kim* 178), the ending of the novel implies that they will eventually go their separate ways after the story ends. In contrast to the lama who seeks to escape the men's world, Kim becomes at-home again when deciding to enter it. In the famous ending scene, Kim, who used to feel estranged in India during the second half of the novel, lies down and feels the ground with his whole body, suddenly feeling that he reunites with the surrounding space:

> He did not want to cry−had never felt less like crying in his life−but of a sudden easy, stupid tears trickled down his nose, and with an almost audible click he felt the wheels of his being lock up anew on the world without.

> Things that rode meaningless on the eyeball an instant before slid into proper proportion. Roads were meant to be walked upon, houses to be lived in, cattle to be driven, fields to be tilled, and men and women to be talked to. They were all real and true−solidly planted upon the feet−perfectly comprehensible−clay of his clay, neither more nor less. (*Kim* 234)

This scene reminds us of Punch the homeless boy's failing to fit into the interior space of the English household in "Sheep." That Kim finds both himself and every object in his view fit into the landscape suggests that he succeeds in escaping the state of homelessness at this moment.

Just after this scene, Kim meets the lama, who excitedly describes to him how he has freed himself from this world but returned to bring his disciple to Nirvana with him. As Fellion mentions, critics have debated whether the boy's union with the landscape indicates his reconnection to imperial structure or to a physical world that is contrasted to the spiritual world (909). Pointing out that readers do not hear Kim's reply to the lama's final claim, Fellion concludes that it is unclear whether the boy reconnects to the Great Game or to something else. While Fellion does not offer a specific answer to the question, he has a point when he claims that "it remains for [Kim] to become an adult on his own terms if he can" (910). In the closing scene, we can see that the boy overcomes his displacement/homelessness by locating himself not in spiritual/physical worlds but in social and political boundaries. It is noteworthy that he meets Hurree Babu and hears about his heroic exploits in the Great Game just before the ending scene. Ruminating over how Hurree deceived the Russian spies by acting as a fearful Bengali, he decides to

enter men's world, thinking, "and then he says he is a fearful man . . . And he *is* a fearful man. I must get into the world again" (*Kim* 234). That is, through identifying Hurree as a Bengali who engages with the Great Game on Britain's side, Kim learns to locate himself within the imperial world. This implies that where he returns to in the end is not the physical world but India as a specific place contained in imperial geography.

Yet Kim's getting into the imperial world does not necessarily cause him to connect to the father's home country. Instead, he makes India his home once again through recognizing himself as a part of the Indian landscape. Despite his growing up, he remains not the same as the English till the end of the novel. To understand his unique position in India, it is crucial to compare and contrast his character with characters who occupy divided cultural locations like him−Lispeth and Hurree Babu, who both mark and affect his growing up near the end of the novel. In the penultimate chapter of the novel, Kim encounters the woman of Shamlegh, who is the same woman as the title character of the short story "Lispeth" in *Plain Tales from the Hills* (1888). As Suvir Kaul notes, Lispeth's reappearance in *Kim* highlights that her character had enduring power both for Kipling and for the imperialist imagination of the time, fascinating and disturbing them at the same time (432). In "Lispeth," she is portrayed as a hill-girl who loves a Sahib whom she rescues, gets abandoned by him as he returns to England and to his English fiancée, and then settles down to hill-life among her own people. In *Kim* she is a hill-woman who seduces Kim telling him that he reminds her of her love affair with a Sahib, but fails as he rejects her sexual invitation. McClintock claims that in colonial discourse only men are considered to possess the privilege of

passing and that women are not portrayed as agents of political affairs, but just "facilitate the male plot and the male transformations" (70). I argue that in *Kim* the hill-woman character is more than just an instrument of male transformation, regardless of Kipling's intention. On the one hand, Lispeth serves to affirm Kim's growing up when she treats him like a mature (English) man, but on the other hand, the way she imitates the English culture mirrors Kim's remaining outside Englishness despite growing up.

While Lispeth represents a cultural hybrid produced by imperial expansion, her restricted mobility differentiates her from male hybrid characters. In "Lispeth," though the daughter of a hill-man and hill-woman of the Himalayas, she grows up at the Kotgarh mission, where the Chaplain and his wife christen her Elizabeth and teach her the English culture, because her parents have died from cholera. Like Kipling's boy heroes, she is neither clearly English nor indigenous Indian. In reading her as a hybrid, Johnson argues that her ambiguous identity causes her to belong to the margin of hill life. Since she has become too similar to white women, she does not assimilate with hill-people, but at the same time, the missionaries feel a threat from her hybrid identity (Johnson 92).

At the beginning of the story, she is portrayed as a powerful heroine who is strong enough to carry an English man in her arms, but then she turns into a victim in her relationship with him. In the second chapter of this dissertation, I have explored the cultural imagination about a male traveler who leaves home and a female homemaker who waits for him at home. This gendered pattern is reenacted in the scene in which Lispeth waits for her lover after he leaves the Hills for England; only in her case the

male traveler never returns to her but instead returns to his white fiancée in the home country. Interestingly, in this scene she studies a puzzle map, striving to geographically locate herself and her lover, much as Punch of "Sheep" tries to locate England and India when he is left behind by his parents: "There was an old puzzle-map of the World in the house. Lispeth had played with it when she was a child. She unearthed it again, and put it together of evenings, and cried to herself, and tried to imagine where her Englishman was. As she had no ideas of distance or steamboats her notions were somewhat wild" ("Lispeth" 250). And yet, being bounded by the Hills and having little knowledge about the larger world, she has no ability to become a part of her lover's home country.

At the end of the story, the disappointed Lispeth appears in the dress of a hill-girl and with a hill-girl's hairstyle, announcing that she is "going back to [her] own people" ("Lispeth" 251). This ending seems to suggest that she finds a final home in the Hills. However, it becomes apparent that she remains different from her own people for her lifetime:

> Lispeth was a very old woman when she died. She had always a perfect command of English, and when she was sufficiently drunk could sometimes be induced to tell the story of her first love affair.
>
> It was hard then to realise that the bleared, wrinkled creature, exactly like a wisp of charred rag, could ever have been "Lispeth of the Kotgarh Mission." ("Lispeth" 251)

Although she never leaves her place of birth, her contact with the English culture makes her live with a divided identity. However, this does not make her an exile who is

separated from her true home country. In *Kim* she keeps Englishness as a precious part of her identity to the moment she encounters someone "with a Sahib's face" (220) once more in her life.[101] She attempts to seduce Kim using her familiarity with the English culture: "Once, long ago. I was Ker-lis-tian and spoke English−as the Sahibs speak it," "Yes, once I made music on a *pianno* in the Mission-house at Kotgarh. Now I give alms to priests who are *heatthen*" (219-220). Her use of the words "Ker-lis-tian," "*pianno*," "the Mission-house," and "*heatthen*" implies that she fashions herself as an exile who is confined to a foreign region, the Hills, by misfortune. Yet this overlaps the scenes in which young Kim imitates the English manners and language either to impress indigenous Indians or to free himself from European adults. In this light, it can be said that the English culture is fundamentally foreign to her, as it is in the case of young Kim.[102]

[101] According to Mary A. Procida, nineteenth-century British travelers imagined Tibet as a magical land: "Tibet, the land of fairy tales and children's dreams, thus enabled the travelers to reach back into childhood for new identities and new standards of behavior" (192). In *Kim*, however, we can see that not Tibet but England is presented as an imagined country that magically reappears and disappears in the form of a Sahib. Through Lispeth's eyes, not the Tibet but the country of the Sahib is imagined as a fantasy world.

[102] In the novel *Kim* Lispeth invites Kim into her hut and shows him a "battered English cash-box under her cot" (*Kim* 221), which may possibly be a souvenir from her Sahib lover or from the Kotgarh missionaries. I think that this object signals the superficiality of her Englishness. As the English cash-box is evidence that she had a contact with the English culture, she cherishes it, but at the same time, it is an evidence that she can possess Englishness only superficially. This pattern is repeated in the scene in which the old Indian soldier cherishes a sword that he got from a battle between the British empire and the Indians. When he proudly appears with the sword, the lama asks why he has it, to which he replies that it is just "an old man's fancy" and then explains how it reminds him of the time he fought for the Sahibs. In his recollection, the old soldier identifies himself as an "outcast among [his] own kind" (*Kim* 48), which makes him similar to Lispeth among her own people. For him the sword is both a souvenir and an object onto which he projects his dream of a reunion with the Sahibs who went away somewhere over the sea after the battle. Both Lispeth and the old soldier attempt to differentiate themselves from their own people, but they both lack knowledge about the "Sahibs' world" and about the relationship between Britain and colonial India within the imperial geography.

Although Kim understands the hill-woman's sexual invitation, he kisses her on the cheek, expresses gratitude about the money she offers him, and leaves her to continue his journey. Noting that female sexuality is considered a threat to both male power and colonial authority, McClintock argues that Kim avoids native women's threatening sexuality but merges with Mother Earth instead (71). Similarly, Kaul points out the dilemma in Kim's maturation story; on the one hand, he should demonstrate his growing up with his interaction with women, but at the same time, he should keep his distance from sexual desire in order not to be entrapped by them. According to Kaul, the boy solves this dilemma by "perform[ing] for [Lispeth] as she knows a Sahib would" (433) before restarting his journey with the lama. While McClintock and Kaul share the thought that Kim's contact with Lispeth marks him a soon-to-be white imperial man, I assert that it rather highlights his remaining outside white imperial masculinity. Most of the time it is Lispeth who brags about her familiarity with the English culture while Kim acts like a priest who knows nothing about foreign culture, but then he surprises her, suddenly acting like a Sahib:

> "Nay. But for one little moment−thou canst overtake the *dooli* in ten strides−if though wast a Sahib, shall I show thee what thou wouldst do?"
>
> "How if I guess, though?" said Kim, and putting his arm round her waist, he kissed her on the cheek, adding in English:
>
> "Thank you verree much, my dear."

> Kissing is practically unknown among Asiatics, which may have been the reason that she leaned back with wide-open eyes and a face of panic.
>
> "Next time," Kim went on, "you must not be so sure of your heatthen priests. Now I say good-bye." He held out his hand English-fashion. She took it mechanically. "Good-bye, my dear." (*Kim* 221)

At first glance, through this performance Kim seems to confirm his own identity as a mature English man, which was hidden even to himself until that moment. However, it must be noted that the way he imitates the English is fundamentally not different from the way Lispeth does it. Just as he identifies and categorizes English people with the ways they act, dress, and talk, Lispeth instantly thinks of her Sahib lover when she sees Kim: "Thy face and thy walk and thy fashion of speech put me in mind of my Sahib" (*Kim* 219). That Kim succeeds in fulfilling her fantasy about Englishness with gestures such as kissing, handshaking, and with simple greetings such as "thank you very much" and "good-bye" suggests that, like her, he has superficial knowledge of the English culture. In this way, the mutual mirroring between the two characters highlights that Kim's Sahibhood remains incomplete till the end of the story.

The ending scene of "Lispeth" suggests that there may be no second generation of the hybrid hill-woman. As Lispeth's contact with the foreign culture turns her into an anomaly, she dies as a lonely individual, leaving only the legendary story of "Lispeth of the Kotgarh Mission" behind in the Hills. In contrast, since Kim's story ends before he enters adulthood, there remains a possibility that he will represent the first generation of

white people with alternative nationality who make India their true home, or borrowing Baucom's term, the generation of "tropicalized white." In investigating the English-style architecture in colonial India, Baucom notes that the Victoria Terminus Train Station, one of the most famous Gothic structures in India, betrays unresolved tensions in the imperial discourse over authentic Englishness: "To enter the Victoria Terminus is, apparently, to come home to Ruskin's England. But if Victoria Terminus is England in India, and a space in which the Indian is made to be English, then this is an England that has been tropicalized" (84). On the one hand, this structure embodies colonial desire to secure Englishness "in the heart of India," but simultaneously, it is an embodiment of an "Englishness which has been subtly estranged," or in other words, an Englishness which is "almost the same, but not quite" (Baucom 84). I suggest that Kim's character represents the "tropicalized" Englishness like English-style buildings constructed in India.

Significantly, Kim's at-homeness both empowers and disempowers him, either way disrupting the imperial myth about the permanent connection between Britain the home country and its subjects abroad. As McClure observes, Kim is differentiated from Lispeth's faithless lover in many ways; while the lover has "his heart set on a return to England," the boy is bound to India (380). McClure reads this difference in context of colonial discourse, concluding that the unbreakable bond with India marks Kim a more committed and benevolent ruler, as well as embodying perpetual domination in colony (380). Although I agree that Kim's at-homeness makes him different from the Sahib lover, I do not think that he will grow into an English ruler. While Kim's remaining

outside Sahibhood allows him to feel at home in India, his physical/social mobility is restricted within the imperial world. Not only is Kim an Indian-born orphan, but he is also a working-class boy, and readers can suspect that his class will help to dismantle his Sahibhood as he enters the men's world. [103] Arguing that class is an important category for analysis in reading this novel, Teresa Hubel notes that the author and the protagonist of *Kim* belong to different classes; the former belongs to the middle class, the other to the working class. Hubel argues that Kim is not likely to become a white master after the story ends even if he is educated at a school for middle-class boys; while the ending of the novel suggests that he will become a part of the imperial structure as a grown man, it cannot be denied that there was little social mobility in colonial India, just as there was little in England at the time (244).[104] According to Hubel, Kipling creates a portrait of a life free of British middle-class cultural restrictions, with a belief that the working classes can inhabit India more fully than the middle classes: "[Kim] gets to live his

[103] Pointing out that Kim is not English but Irish, McBratney argues that his status as an Irishman allows him to resist the imperial hegemony while serving the empire:

> Kim is free to act as he wishes in part because he belongs to an ethnicity seen as the most subordinate within the British nation. As the furthest thing from a proper English sahib, he feels little pressure to uphold the British imperial cause—at least initially. In the racial "proximity" of the Irish to the Indian (as seen in chapter 4), he offers a further reason to divorce himself from English society and embrace the native culture. (106)

[104] As Hubel notes, there were many white orphans growing up in the Indian streets. Since it was believed that working-class environments had a negative influence on them, they were sent to orphanages, being expected to transform themselves into useful subjects there:

> It was also significant that, during the time they remained in the orphanages, any contact between them and their friends or relatives was actively discouraged. And when these children reached their teenage years, they were sent back into society, the boys usually to take up the occupations of their fathers, becoming drummers, fifers, and soldiers in British regiments, while the girls were placed as domestic servants in richer European homes, or married off to British soldiers, a few receiving enough academic education to become teachers, most often in elementary schools for Indian children. (242)

This suggest that while working-class orphans were trained to believe in middle-class values, it was generally impossible for them to scale the class ladder and become middle class after growing up.

creator's dream life, one that is free of middle-class conventions, full of adventure and intrigue, and plays itself out in India, the land that Kipling loved and to which he could never, in his own life, quite belong" (235). In other words, through Kim's story Kipling seeks to fulfill his own dream of at-homeness in India. Simultaneously, however, Kim has restrictions as a working-class boy; unlike Lispeth's Sahib, he has no capacity to move from the margin to the center of the empire. In this sense, he gets to resemble Lispeth who is confined to hill-life, even though he is physically more mobile and socially less isolated than she.

In contrast to Kim and Lispeth who are bound to India and to the Hills, Hurree Babu, Kim's superior in the Great Game, has physical/social mobility within the imperial structure. If we define this novel as an adventure narrative, it is Hurree who is most adventurous; not only is he deeply involved with the Great Game, but he also moves across a wide space in the story. For this Anglicized Bengali, Englishness has become an integral part of his identity, while for Kim it remains foreign. In the scene in which he lodges at a village in the Hills, his dreaming of "Bengali Gods, University textbooks of education, and the Royal Society, London, England" (*Kim* 223) suggests that different cultures/locations and past memories/future dreams are intermixed in him. Notably, he shares an enthusiasm for ethnological knowledge with Colonel Creighton, who collects information about manners and customs both for fun and for imperial act. Although Creighton pays for Hurree's travelling expenses to monitor the lama during Kim and the lama's journey, this offers the Bengali both mobility and knowledge of the larger world. Furthermore, he shares with Creighton the dream of becoming a member of

the Royal Society. Considering that Western-educated Bengalis played crucial roles in the rebellion against the British Empire later in history, Hurree's dream of entering the Royal Society might anticipate a potential threat against British rule in India, even though Creighton just smiles at the idea that he and the Bengali are "moved by like desire" (*Kim* 148). In this sense, Hurree is not just a mimic man who fails to be the same as the colonizer; rather, his involvement with the Great Game and mobility within imperial geography suggest that he will someday transgress the dividing line between the center and the margin of the empire.

In short, both Kim's immobility and the Bengali's mobility help to unsettle British colonial discourse. Many scholars talking about *Kim* have argued that Hurree's character as a fearful Bengali affirms the hierarchy between the colonizer and the colonized. Contending that Kim recovers his identity as a Sahib at the end and that Hurree's dream of entering the Royal Society is presented as an unattainable dream, Petković claims that both Kim and Hurree stay within racial boundaries despite their hybridities: "just like Kim, Babu cannot change who he is, and, just like Kim, he is a collection of genes, blood, racial and national heritage" (46). I argue that if Kim can become something else than a Sahib, it is also possible that Hurree becomes more than an embodiment of "racial and national heritage," both characters dismantling constructed notion of colonial identities. Much as Kim's character produces an unsettling effect through anticipating white men who do not return to the father's home country, Hurree's does so by anticipating Indians who are confined neither to their home countries nor to the position of the colonized.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

In the previous chapters, this dissertation investigated the ways in which homeless boy characters' relationship with particular places critiques the Victorian ideas of male self-development and nation-building. As we have seen, even though they identify with travelers and seemingly seek to advance towards the wider world during journeys, they are driven by the desire to stay connected to their point of departure. While this kind of double motive is believed to contribute to the imperial enterprise, the fictions that this dissertation dealt with unsettle the notion that British male subjects who separate themselves from the home can reconnect to it through their self-development and through the expansion of their home country. In the introduction, I posed the question: Can the homeless boys return home? After all the discussions about male homelessness, the answer that I now offer to my own question cannot but be negative.

Since the idea of space plays an essential role in the Victorian perception of the home and nation, this study explored how the boys' occupation and perception of specific spaces affect their growing up. In all the chapters, it was demonstrated that the border between the inside/domestic and the outside/foreign is permeable as the places that the boys travel mirror each other. In the second chapter, not only did I examine the representation of the domestic interior but I also drew on the ideas of various constructs such as the Plains Indians' mini-home, toy theater, and dollhouse, in order to better understand the ideals of middle-class domesticity. In the third chapter, I explored both

the spaces inside the school such as the study and the sickroom and the school's position within the imperial world; the sea that is in adjacent to the Roslyn school highlights that it is connected to the outer world, and the places of retreat that Kipling's boys build outside the College bridge the school with the frontiers of the empire to which Old Boys head for. The fourth chapter investigated how the foreign island setting and the center of the empire reflect each other; The Coral Island contains the gardens that resemble the school gardens of Victorian Britain, and adventurers build either the traditional middle-class home or the bower on the islands; Jim Hawkins leaves the inn in England for the wider world, but then he is confined to another place outside England−Treasure Island. The fifth chapter discussed how the orphaned boy travels multiple environments such as the Indian streets, the English household constructed in India, and the foot of the Himalayas. Whether we look into the miniature world of toy theater or look at the vast sea separating the hill-woman from her English lover, those spaces and their inhabitants are all placed in the imperial geography, all being affected by the ideology of the extending home.

While this dissertation focused on the British boys' displacement from home, the fifth chapter left unanswered questions behind that are reserved for future study. If the second, third, and fourth chapters address the dilemma of those who must travel from their home and yet must remain connected to it, the fifth chapter portrays those who must return to the home that they have not left from the first place. As the ambivalent identity of Kipling's hill-woman illustrates, the continuing colonization caused a complex kind of displacement to those who do not know where to locate themselves in

the empire. If this study is extended onto the discussion of non-white female subjects, the problems of homelessness/at-homeness will become much more complicated. What will happen when Lispeth the hill-woman, Juno the black servant, and Long John Silver's non-white wife return to the imperial home?

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